

The Social Studies

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Continuing *The Historical Outlook*

April, 1945

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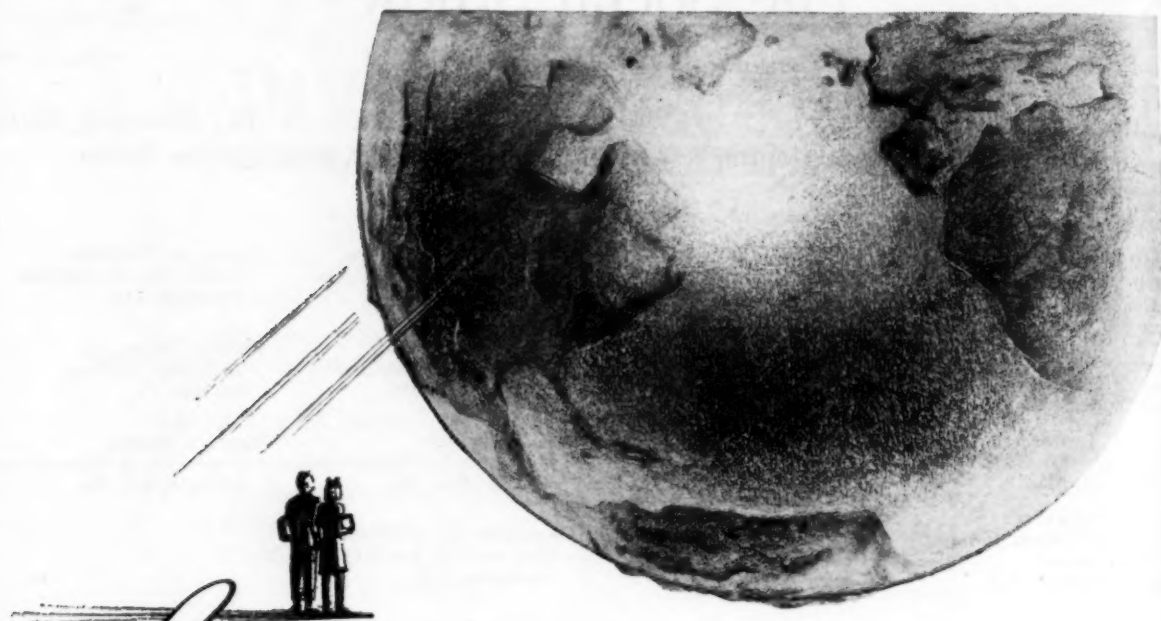
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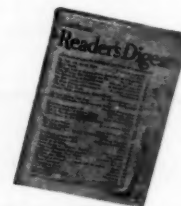
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The Social Studies

VOLUME XXXVI, NUMBER 4

APRIL, 1945

It is Time for a Change: To World Peace and Security

C. A. HAMBERG

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At present several million Americans are fighting World War II on various battle fronts—sea, land and air! Over twenty years ago a somewhat smaller number also fought a world war on various battle fronts. In World War I altogether more than 10,000,000 men in the prime of life were killed or wrecked physically, besides millions of civilians, many of them women and children who died from suffering and disease. The money cost of World War I in terms of increased taxes and debts plus the value of property destroyed and devastated was well over \$300,000,000,000. Evaluated in terms of human lives lost and property destroyed, the present catastrophe will be imminently worse than the last. As thoughtful fighters on the bloody fronts and civilians on farms and in shops, factories, and offices survey this picture, they surely are entitled to ask this question: Why and for what?

The answer to this question is, of course, very simply—world peace and security! Oh yes, we have our Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter, but it is probably pertinent to remind ourselves of Wilson's Fourteen Points and also the League of Nations which was formed expressly for the purpose of settling international disputes without recourse to war. Then, again and with more emphasis, we ask: Why and how?

To some, the solution again appears to be very easy to attain—bigger and better armies and navies along with appropriate air power. Granted. Military might produces a certain sense of security provided either of two conditions is present. First, there must be one all-powerful country, for example, the Roman government during the Pax Romana. Second, several countries must establish an all-powerful group which might in turn lead to some form of world organization. The first situation definitely is not democratic and therefore inconsistent with the avowed principles of the Atlantic Charter; the second is also undemocratic at the outset and depends in the last analysis on the successful operation of the machinery of peace in which case large armies, navies plus air power would be superfluous.

Before leaving the question of world peace achieved through the creation of bigger and better armies (as a permanent policy) it might be well to remind ourselves of the situation previous to World War I. The history books tell us Europe was like an armed camp before 1914. Each unsolved international "incident" previous to that date created greater fear and suspicion and also greater military power. Then came 1914 and Sarajevo! And again in the 1930's armies of great strength marched in the Red Square, Paris, Berlin, and Rome while the world

watched with fear and suspicion. If the history lesson of the past teaches anything worthwhile, it should be very obvious that democratic world peace has not been achieved by the creation of great camps of military power in the various nationalistic countries of the world.

"But," says an opponent, "America and England were not fully armed at the outset of either of the last two wars; their military power organized at the beginning might have prevented the holocausts." Those who believe this "if" should consider current statements regarding Germany's plans for World War III and the recent situation in nationalistic Argentina. Relative to that question it is appropriate to ask: Would the organized power of England and America have prevented either of the past wars or would their power merely have served to postpone the danger for a time, promote further fear and suspicion, and thus alter the balance of power or increase the ratio? Surely the parade of military might witnessed during this war is as something from a "Buck Rogers" dream and yet it is at present very easy to visualize future combinations of nationalistic power engaged in awful and mortal combat. If the goal is a modern Pax Romana, then One Great Military Power could possibly be the answer, but if the goal is world peace achieved through democratic world cooperation, the answer seems to lie elsewhere.

Democratic world peace can be achieved only through some form of democratic cooperation—the name of the organization is of little importance. "But," says the opponent, "the world had that before in the League of Nations." Yes, that is true and today the picture seems to be much the same. Great ideals have been expressed in the Four Freedoms, in the Atlantic Charter, and at Dumbarton Oaks. The fighting countries have created the so-called United Nations. At the same time, however, actual issues are being settled, as in the past, by the "Great Power" method in Greece, Italy, Poland, China and Ethiopia, to say nothing of the oil situation in the Near East and the recent Aviation Conference held at Chicago. Why is this true? Because now, as after the last war, the world as a whole is not democratic; it does not possess, for example, freedom of speech, press, and religion. In the last analysis it is doubtful if a majority of the people of the world actually desire an effective democratic world organization for world peace—even a majority of the so-called United Nations.

If this is true, it appears to be foolish and paradoxical to lay plans for democratic world cooperation and, at one and the same time, settle the actual problems of the world by the "power politics" methods unless immediate steps are taken to alter this inconsistent situation. This, it appears, can be done only through effective world education or world propa-

ganda for peace and world democracy.

Most social organizations have a set of principles or ideals embodied in a creed, by-laws or preamble and constitution. The extent to which such social organizations succeed is measured by the degree to which the ideals and principles are actually adopted and followed by the individual members of the group concerned. This seems to be true whether it be the Boy Scouts, a religious group, or the United States of America. For example, the ideals and principles of our country are embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. Any student of American history knows that these documents were in many respects idealistic in 1790—less than 10 per cent of the population possessed the privilege of suffrage at that time! Many, at the outset, held the doctrine of "states' rights" or local sovereignty more dear than federal power or strong nationalism, and in this respect our federal power was not safe until the Civil War had administered the death blow to the "states' rights" doctrine. It is only today after more than 150 years of education and propaganda that the lofty ideals and principles of our basic political documents are being achieved in their true democratic sense. Can the world wait another 150 years?

The scene changes and today man begins to seek the fruits of human achievement through world democracy or internationalism and the force nationalism becomes the sectionalism of the nineteenth century. If the argument is accepted that sectionalism or local sovereignty ran counter to the development of strong national states in the nineteenth century, then it is pure drivel now to speak of an effective democratic world organization without a strong super state which calls for the surrender of a certain degree of national power (local sovereignty) in the interest of world security and peace. Unless the diplomats at the coming peace conference can accept this principle or challenge, further talk and discussion of world peace through democratic organization on the basis of the Atlantic Charter becomes mockery in its purest form. It is to avoid the latter situation and to build for a more truly democratic world organization that the following proposals are submitted:

Proposal I: Popular World Forum

(1) The important nations should select, or a progressive magazine should assume, the responsibility of creating more popular interest in post-war problems.

(2) A whole magazine or section thereof could be utilized to cover the troublesome areas and problems of the world. Examples: (a) Regions: Baltic area, Balkan region and Greece, India, Middle East, Germany. (b) Problems: oil, money and equality of

aces throughout the world.

(3) After a certain amount of publicity these problems (and others) would be presented for world discussion, one at a time. Responses from the citizens of the world as a whole should be encouraged. If the people of the world desire a just peace they should become aroused and militant, and their ideas and wishes should be brought to the attention of the world leaders. Greece, considering the present situation as well as its illustrious background, might serve as a starting point for such a program.

(4) This program should start immediately and could be carried on for several years in the nature of a prize contest. If possible regulations should be arranged to encourage responses from the representative groups of the world.

Note: Some magazines already have prize contests relative to business enterprise within a country. Isn't it more important to focus public attention on international problems which cause war and disrupt periodically the world as well as the national economy of every country despite its internal efficiency?

(5) Because of the time element and the nature of the program such an undertaking should be adopted by a periodical of impartial reputation which already has a national and preferably an international circulation.

Proposal II: World Education

(1) Written impartially by acknowledged experts from representative nations.

(2) The content of such a book might and should include:

- (a) Costs and horrors of war.
- (b) Underlying causes of wars—past and present.
- (c) Obstacles to permanent democratic world peace.
- (d) Explanation of the governmental machinery adopted by the United Nations for preservation of world peace.

Note: Recently Donald M. Nelson was sent to China to introduce ideas and methods to raise production levels in China and in that manner help defeat Japan, but also create a new modern industrial power. We helped Japan in this respect in 1853-1854. What happened? If we read today that nationalistic Argentina has developed a "Youth" movement, we are little perturbed. Argentina has approximately 13,000,000 people and its power resources are limited. On the other hand, contemplate the possibilities of a "Youth" movement in a modern industrial nationalistic China of, let us say, 1976. In cases of this kind political educa-

tion should follow immediately or go hand in hand with industrial education.

(e) Brief history of main countries and sections of the world including especially controversial issues and problems of each. Problems would of course be presented from the impartial viewpoint of the world.

(3) Effective teaching of such a textbook would be prerequisite to voting membership in the world organization.

(4) An inspection or check would be made periodically by impartial observers representing the United Nations.

Proposal III: A Modern Pax Romana or Devastating Wars

(1) If the diplomats who gather at the next "Versailles" consider the first two proposals idealistic and impractical they should cease to talk of a democratic world peace and prepare for either of the two situations embodied in Proposal III—a modern Pax Romana or devastating wars.

In conclusion, we might draw upon the great liberators of South America for inspiration. In 1815 Simon Bolivar wrote his famous letter of Jamaica in which he prophesied that Panama might become a modern "Corinth":

There some day it might be our good fortune to establish a majestic Assembly representing the republics, monarchies, and empires to discuss the important topics of peace and war with the nations of the other three parts of the world.

His dream has been partially realized: ships from the ends of the earth come and go, people from all races and parts of the world have met and intermingled. Panama is truly a "melting pot" of the world. In like manner the educational situation has inspired the above proposals. Canal Zone Schools are maintained for citizens of the United States, but children of other nationals are admitted and a greater common understanding and likemindedness has resulted. In the history classes of the Canal Zone Schools, nationals of China, Europe, Panama and of other South American countries have participated in discussions of a controversial nature. In such a friendly atmosphere of mutual criticism and respect a firm basis or foundation for peace can be built. If a world forum for adults and school children alike could be created immediately, the troubled world would have a better chance to advance to a new and higher level. It is time for a change!

The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfills himself in many ways
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

Scholastic Pauperism

SEWELL E. SLICK

State Teachers College, Clarion, Pennsylvania

Every experienced teacher and administrator is aware of certain undesirable tendencies in our public school practices. The fault obviously rests with three groups of people: teachers, administrators and parents. It is equally true, that certain of the causes can be removed, if all of the factors involved are carefully studied and a sincere effort is made to find a remedy.

Basically, our public educational system exists to train future citizens for responsible participation in our democracy. Before any American in our country is a laborer, carpenter, clerk, doctor, lawyer, teacher, banker, or anything else professionally, he is a *citizen*! If any individual fails in the exercise of his rights and duties as a citizen, he is actually an enemy of his country, even though he is passive, rather than active, in his conduct. It follows, also, that if the number of inactive citizens becomes too large at any time, then our country is in real peril. No government of the people perpetuates itself; it must be perpetuated by the people themselves. A story recounted during the recent presidential election illustrates our point.

One of America's outstanding musical artists was asked how he was going to vote. He is said to have replied: "My political candidate this year is Beethoven and maybe Bach." There is no doubt about the soundness of the artist's choice in musical matters, but there is room for considerable doubt as to the quality of his practical citizenship. For it is true that the artist lives in a political world as others do. The art which he loves and professes so well flourishes in a free, prosperous, democratic society and artists, as well as artisans, are responsible for its maintenance. The tendency for a nation's citizens to "let George do" their political work usually ends in "George doing it," but for an awful price. Dr. Thomas Mann, distinguished refugee German writer, has told us of his rude awakening to that fact when Hitler came on the scene in Germany.

Now, more than at any other time in our history, perhaps, it is worth while for us, as educators, to take stock of ourselves and our work. Are we measuring up to what is expected of us and our institutions? Are young people being made to realize their responsibilities as future citizens? Are our future citizens being taught to respect the ideals of our democracy, such as industry, thrift and perseverance, which have made the settling and developing of the United States of America a glorious crusade?

On the basis of many years of experience in the classroom, we are inclined to the belief that the answers to the foregoing questions will have to be given a negative slant, if we are perfectly honest with ourselves. An example of a more objective type of proof is to be found in the facts applying to our present-day voters, who are after all the school boys and girls of a few years ago! According to census figures, there are about 80,000,000 voters in this country in normal times. In 1940, when we had the largest turnout of voters in American history, less than 65 per cent of our eligible voters appeared at the polls. In non-presidential election years the percentage drops as low as 50 per cent in some states.

Probably no one expects full participation of our citizenry at the polls. But few will question the assertion that the number of active voters should be much higher than it is. There are many thoughtful Americans today who subscribe to the belief that any person who enjoys the rights of our citizenship and the comforts of our way of life is duty bound to exercise his rights with reference to the franchise. But regardless of our opinions, the fact remains that many people do not go to the polls. Let us find, if we can, an answer to the question, "Why?"

The old admonition to train the child in the way he should go in order to avoid disappointment in later life seems to apply here. If a good, sound political conscience is developed in our youth, our adult citizenry is likely to be more concerned with public affairs. There are many good people in our nation who sincerely believe that politics and politicians are corrupt. For that reason they do not want to have anything to do with elections or government. They have not stopped to realize what would happen if all good people assumed such an attitude. Actually the cause of the corruption that does exist anywhere at any time rests upon the indifference shown by the good people of our country. If the good *people* all became good *citizens*; and if they all met their responsibilities at the polls regularly, there would probably be very little corruption and very few corrupt politicians. Then there is another type of American who argues that the right to vote also carries with it the right not to vote. In school he very likely said he intended to "get by" without "cracking a book" and without shouldering any of the extra-curricular duties to be found in any scholastic institution.

Certainly education can contribute something con-

structive as a remedy for such deplorable conditions. There is an old axiom that "every teacher is a teacher of English." Granted that such a slogan is good so far as speech and composition are concerned, an educator might logically ask, "Why not alter it slightly and say that 'every teacher is a teacher of responsible citizenship?'" Every student of our social institutions is aware that we have been extending the period of childhood and youth among our young people to such an extent that in peace time many of them are not placed on their own responsibility until they are in their middle twenties. But the war has taught us a lesson. It has been amply demonstrated that our youth can assume very important tasks at a much earlier age. Therefore, it would seem to be good pedagogy for us as educators to take advantage of the new emphasis on responsibility, industry and loyalty and stress them as we have never stressed them before.

Due to compulsory attendance laws, pressure brought by influential parents or school board members, and laxness on the part of teachers and administrators, we seem to be developing a class of youngsters in our schools who are little more than "scholastic paupers." As a group they can easily become public charges of a future generation. Their present philosophy is to dodge responsibility and to get something for nothing.

A pauper, according to the usual definition, is "a person without means of existence except such as come from charity, . . . any miserably poor person." Scholastically speaking, there are all too many young people in our schools who are "miserably poor." In far too many cases, according to experienced teachers, they are "poor," not because they cannot do the bare minimum of work necessary to earn a passing grade; but they are "poor" because they have not learned that they *must* do at least a reasonable amount of work in this world if they expect to be paid—in grades now and in wages and advancement later.

Otherwise respectable parents, and pupils too, who would never dream of walking into a grocery store and placing an order for groceries, without ever intending to pay for them, think nothing of walking up to an educational counter and ordering a grade or a diploma without actually having earned, and without actually having done the required work for, the de-

sired reward. Such parents and pupils might be shocked to receive the label, "scholastic paupers," but that is the only honest tag that they deserve. Such practices undoubtedly do a great deal of harm to the specific pupils involved, but the damage done to a school system is incalculable. Even the morale of the good pupils is affected; and it is not long until the community at large learns the facts. Thus everybody suffers: the school system, the teachers, the administrators and the general public.

Since the matter is truly serious, the question might properly be asked, "What can be done about it?" It would seem that there are several logical answers. Pupils in the upper grades and in high school like to be thought of as "grown-ups." Therefore, it seems perfectly logical to request that they assume some of the responsibilities of the adult. A reasonable set of goals in our teaching might be summed up as follows: (1) Try to teach and interpret the course materials in the best manner possible; and (2) try to impress upon the pupils that school is not merely a preparation for life, but a *cross-section of life!* It is our firm belief that pupils can be taught that only by honest day-by-day application and effort in life is it possible for the average worker to earn his wage, keep his self-respect and his job. And likewise, we believe it is possible to teach our future citizens that if their democracy and ours is to be preserved, it is necessary that they assume their duties of citizenship just as soon as they reach the legal age.

In states where teachers are protected by tenure laws a determined stand by a school faculty would be sufficient to wipe out many abuses. Where compulsory school laws or fond parents tend to keep loafers in school, the situation could be met by granting two types of diplomas. The one (with "meat" on it) would indicate that the pupil receiving it had met the scholastic requirements of the school; the other (without "meat" on it) would indicate that the pupil receiving it had been in attendance for the required time and had been "exposed" to certain courses in the curriculum.

Fairness and firmness in these matters can only end in the reflection of greater honor and respect on our public educational institutions, and in the training of young Americans to be good citizens, rather than "scholastic paupers."

The Freedom of the Press

H. BOODISH

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INTRODUCTION

Any discussion of the freedom of the press in this present age cannot be limited to newspapers alone, for it implies freedom to disseminate facts, old and new, and freedom to exchange ideas through any means of communication, whether it be newspapers, books or magazines, the radio, or the motion picture. In this paper I shall include only the newspaper, the most outstanding representative of the printed word, and the radio, both of which contribute so much to the control and molding of public opinion. Both, therefore, have a direct bearing on the freedom of the press.

Human progress from savagery to civilization was made possible through cooperation—cooperation between individuals and between groups of individuals, because when posed against Nature single handed, man was and still is impotent. But cooperation required understanding of one another's thoughts and problems, and understanding in turn required the ability to communicate ideas. Thus communication, which is merely mental contact between individuals or groups of individuals, is in large measure at the basis of social progress.

From earliest times man realized the advantages of being able to communicate with his fellow men. From time to time, he evolved different devices to facilitate his endeavors in this respect. For centuries the spoken word was the chief means of communication. Its weakness lay in the fact that it was limited by space and time. What was said or spoken at any given place could be heard only within a relatively small area of the radius of the speaker. Secondly, what was spoken at any given time could not be repeated word for word, nor with the same feelings and expressions, except by word of mouth of one of the listeners. Memory had therefore to be relied upon, and man's memory was never perfect. What was repeated often had parts left out or was embellished by the imagination of the narrator. The development of writing was therefore one of the foremost steps in the advancement of civilization.

But in its early stages, even after paper was invented, the advantages of writing were beset by limitations. The process was slow and painstaking and required a degree of skill possessed only by a few individuals. Although the permanent recording of facts and the duplication of records were made possible, the dissemination of knowledge and information was a costly undertaking. The world as a

whole, therefore, continued to live in ignorance for hundreds of years following the invention of writing.

The first step in making possible mass transmission of facts was the invention of movable type. The printing press of Johannes Gutenberg was cumbersome and not too efficient, but our linotype and electrically driven presses of today are merely improvements of his printing press. Our modern civilization—the development of democratic government, the dissemination of knowledge to larger and larger numbers of people, the coming of the newspapers, periodicals, and the volumes of books in our public libraries, school rooms, and homes, are all in some measure attributable to the invention of printing.

While writing and printing conquered space and time in the sense that what occurred at any given place and time could be recorded and made known to other individuals at other places and times, there was still one limitation. What occurred at any one time or place could not be made available instantaneously or even within a relatively short period of time to other people in other places. One had to wait for some agent of communication to bring such records. It was left to the invention of the telephone and the telegraph, and later to wireless telegraphy, the radio and television to overcome that obstacle. By means of these inventions we can communicate events and episodes verbally as well as pictographically, almost instantaneously from one part of the earth to the other. By means of short wave broadcasting, for instance, which carries sound seven times around the earth in one second, audiences in remote parts of the earth can hear a speaker as soon as his own immediate audience does.

With this increase in the complexity of the agents or means of communication—with the invention of writing and printing, with the development of newspapers, books, and periodicals, with the development of the radio and the movies—social problems increased both in number, in scope, and in intensity, until today, the method of control and utilization of these agents of communication has a direct effect upon the daily life of everyone. We merely have to refer to the use of the radio, newspaper and motion picture as agents of psychological warfare to get a glimpse of their power over the minds and actions of peoples. We merely have to look at the millions of dollars spent on advertising to get another glimpse of the importance of the printed and spoken word when psychologically presented. We merely

have to glance at the writings of the greatest destroyer of freedom of the press, Adolph Hitler, and to the events following his rise to power to realize further the power of this agency of communication.

Charles J. Rollo states:

Artillery preparation before an attack as during the World War (First) will be replaced in the future war by psychological dislocation of the enemy through revolutionary propaganda. The enemy must be demoralized and driven into passivity. . . . Our strategy is to destroy the enemy from within, to conquer him through himself. Mental confusion, contradiction of feeling, panic—these are our weapons.¹ What better means of implementing them than through the press, the radio?

Naturally, certain questions arise in the minds of socially conscious people. What control if any should there be in the dissemination of news? In whom should this control be lodged? Is there a need for an increased or decreased amount of government regulation? What advantages or disadvantages are there in government ownership of radio broadcasting stations—as is the case in Britain—compared with private ownership but with government regulation, as is the case in this country? To what extent, if any, do the controlling interests of our movies, radio stations, newspapers and periodicals, control and influence public opinion? To what extent do they influence legislators? What are the good effects of advertising? What are the bad effects? What are the dangers of uncontrolled as well as controlled propaganda? To what extent can propaganda be made useful? It is hoped that what follows will help to stimulate constructive thinking on these and other questions of freedom of the press.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN THE NEWSPAPERS

Originally, the basic function of newspapers was to gather important news and report it. In its early stages, the newspaper was a small tabloid of a few pages containing a little news that "was already stale," local advertisements and perhaps some discussion of a topic of political or social interest. It was usually owned and operated by a single person with perhaps one or two assistants. In time, the owner of the paper, who was also its editor, began to take it upon himself not only to report the news, but to interpret it, and to give opinions on public questions, in the form of editorials.

People, who were too busy with their daily tasks of making a living to give much time to the analysis of political, social, and economic issues, began to look forward to reading these editorials. Many people couldn't even read, and so they used to congregate

around some central reader at the corner store or at some other convenient place. They judged the editorials by the person who wrote them—by his character and standing in the community. The principle of "freedom of the press" was born of these early newspapers. Their editors were frequently free thinking and liberty-loving men.

In colonial days, reporting and writing the truth was often a dangerous task. Frequently, the hand of the law fell with vengeance upon these early pioneers of freedom of the press, as is recorded in the famous Zenger case of 1735. Andrew Hamilton, the well known colonial lawyer who defended Peter Zenger's right to criticize the New York governor's interference in court procedure, agreed that he wasn't merely defending an individual, but "the liberty both of exposing and opposing arbitrary power . . . by speaking and writing the truth." Zenger was acquitted and the freedom of the press made some progress.

NATURE AND FUNCTION OF NEWSPAPERS

Quite early, newspapers assumed the right to interpret news and to influence public opinion. As the country grew and prospered, newspapers also increased. However, their prosperity grew not because of increased circulation, although that did take place, but because newspapers assumed a new function—advertising. The income received from the sale of newspapers is far too small to support metropolitan newspapers worth millions of dollars. Our modern newspapers, with perhaps a few exceptions, are not motivated by philanthropic or social ideals. Like other business corporations, they are operated primarily as an economic venture for profit. Thus news-reporting, news-editing, and feature writing no longer constitute their chief motivating purpose, but are a means of increasing circulation, which in turn increases advertising subscription.

Unlike the newspaper of Horace Greeley, the modern metropolitan newspaper is a business establishment of universal proportions. Besides the hundreds of workers operating its printing presses, composing rooms, linotype machines and delivery trucks, it has its various kinds of editors, advertising and layout specialists, business agents, reporters, photographers and special correspondents. Its up-to-the-minute news, made possible by its special correspondents in the important capitals of the world and on the battlefields; by special news-gathering agencies (the Associated Press, the United Press, and the International News Service); and by modern methods of communication like the telephone, telegraph, radio, wire and radio-photo machines, cover events of local, national and international importance. In addition it provides special features, such as women's page; sports pages, comics, editorials, comments by

¹Charles J. Rollo, *Radio Goes to War*.

special correspondents, book reviews, amusement page, as well as pages of advertisements.

The modern newspaper differs in still another respect from early colonial newspapers in that the editors are no longer the owners or publishers of the paper. The policy of the modern newspaper, therefore, no longer necessarily reflects the views of the editors, but that of its publisher. Very often, the policy of the publisher, for business reasons, reflects the views of the majority of his largest advertisers.

The type of news offered, the relative emphasis placed on local, national, and international events, as indicated by headlines, size of a news article, the page on which certain news items are printed, and the omission of certain news items are often determined not so much by the relative importance of the news, but by the psychological effect it will have on the reader, which in turn will affect circulation. This explains why murder trials, sex stories, and other sensational "eye openers" are often played up beyond their relative importance. The extent to which advertisers influence some newspapers is further revealed in cases where newspapers will refuse to publish certain news items or even paid advertisements because such action would endanger its accounts with other clients. In cases where this has taken place, the courts have usually upheld the right of a newspaper to refuse to publish news or advertisements it considers inimical to its business.

NEWSPAPERS AND PUBLIC OPINION

Outside of war censorship of certain kinds of news, newspapers have thus far escaped strict government regulation. Their cloak of immunity has been the freedom of the press. Whenever there is any semblance of government interference, that cloak is immediately made use of and with good effect. People on the whole have been wary of any government interference when it comes to newspapers, because they fear that freedom of the press as well as freedom of expression might be endangered and eventually curbed as it has been in the dictator countries. Yet, it must be recognized that newspapers can and do have a strong influence on public opinion. As already pointed out, certain newspapers in determining policy on local, national and international issues are motivated by their own economic and political interests.

With the coming of the radio, the movies, and a greater increase in magazine reading, the newspapers no longer have the same controlling power over the minds of the people they had twenty-five or thirty years ago. That was shown in the last three presidential elections, when, according to reliable estimates, the majority of the newspapers favored the losing presidential nominees. Part of the answer for

this, as will be pointed out later, is the fact that the radio has taken over some of the work previously monopolized by the newspapers. That was very definitely noticeable in the "fireside chats" of President Roosevelt, when in one evening he was able to reach almost the entire listening public. The other part of the answer lies in the fact that people generally have become more critical readers. They are more able to distinguish between sensationalism and plain facts. They have come to recognize the influence of commercialized interests on newspaper policy; and they have come to recognize that many newspapers appeal to sentiment and emotion rather than to reason.

On the other hand, the public is not unaware that newspapers, together with providing recreation through inexpensive reading, do serve an indispensable function of keeping it informed and stimulated about world events and issues. Furthermore, many newspapers still continue in their function of championing right against wrong by criticizing the government, by exposing political graft, and by carrying on secret investigations of matters of public interest. In addition, syndicated feature writers, whose opinion may differ with the policy of a newspaper, none-the-less are often permitted to write their opinion. However, the public must recognize that one of the greatest bulwarks of democracy is a free press—from both government interference as well as from special interests. Both can be maintained by a public that is educated to cherish freedom of expression and to distinguish and discriminate between truth and falsehood.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND THE RADIO

The development of radio communication as is true of the development of all scientific achievements, was merely the addition of another link to the long chain of human accomplishments. Among the first steps in this field were the development and use of electricity in telephone and telegraph communication. Then came the development of wireless telegraphy. Following that came the invention of the vacuum tube, which made possible the transmission of sound waves. The many intermediary steps, which filled in the gaps between these three major steps are in themselves records of human ingenuity.

Just as a person growing older is unaware of age creeping upon him until he sometimes pauses to analyze the contours of his face and to compare himself with what he was years ago, so in the field of human progress, man is unaware of the advancement he makes until he sometimes stops to analyze his present accomplishments and compares them with those of past generations. Those of us who were born before radio broadcasting and receiving

were a reality—can employ our own memories in appreciating the progress that has been made in this field of communication. Those of us who were born when radio was already an accepted fact can still appreciate its wonders by comparing its accomplishments with what would happen if suddenly its use were discontinued. Too many of us sometimes go along in our day-to-day living accepting and using what ingenious minds conceive and develop without giving much thought as to how they affect and change our living. We should occasionally stop and analyze and even wonder at some of these developments.

In the space of one generation, from the time De Forest perfected his vacuum tube to the beginning of World War II, the radio had already become a household necessity as well as a luxury. By 1940 there were an estimated 26,000,000 families who had receiving sets, in addition to an estimated 3,000,000 automobile receiving sets. Radio broadcasting had become one of the largest industries in this country, with an investment running into millions of dollars. Thousands of workers were employed in the manufacture of radios and radio equipment. Thousands of other people, announcers, technicians, actors and musicians, are employed in manning the stations and in producing the programs. In this country radio broadcasting developed as a private enterprise with government control entering the scene only as a regulatory agent. In England and other foreign countries radio broadcasting became a government monopoly.

People who own radios in England pay a tax to the government, the proceeds of which are used to support the programs presented, which are determined, as to their nature, by the government. Public control is a factor only in so far as it influences the government. Consequently, broadcasting in England is free from commercial advertisements. In our country, as we are well aware, broadcasting stations are owned by private corporations. Radio stations sell time on the air to any business firm, person, or group, political or non-political, who wish to sell something to the public whether it be a commodity, service, or an idea like cigarettes, tooth paste, soaps, dental repair, or voting for John Q. Smith for sheriff. In the main, the receipts from commercial advertising of various commodities are the chief support of the broadcasting stations. This support has been so lucrative that some of the richer stations have been able to devote, both as a public service and as a means of building up a large army of listeners, free time to purely educational and cultural programs, including news broadcasts, musical programs, discussion forums, religious programs, educational talks, and important public addresses like presidential messages

to Congress and "fireside chats." Some of these have become popular enough to merit paid sponsorship.

With the exception of a few independent radio stations owned by some civic groups, church organizations, and schools, all broadcasting stations are affiliated with one of the three large radio chains or networks—the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), and the Mutual System (MBS). The stations of each of the networks are united to one another by telephone wire. This makes possible the sharing of important broadcasts by all the stations of the chain, just as member newspapers share news obtained by the United or Associated Press. In addition, it makes possible broadcasting on a national hook-up. Thus, when the President of the United States, or the Prime Minister of England, or some other important person or program is on the air, people all over the United States can tune in and hear it. Although theoretically the commercial advertisers determine and control the type of programs, they are continuously aware of public opinion and will continue or change a program as its popularity increases or decreases.

With the rapid growth of radio broadcasting stations, the need of some government regulation soon became apparent. Radio stations broadcasting on frequencies too close to one another found their programs "jammed" or interfering with each other, the more powerful station eventually drowning out the less powerful one. With the view of eliminating this, by assigning frequencies as well as time on which stations could broadcast, Congress passed the first Radio Act in 1927. In 1934 Congress passed another act repealing that one of 1927, which created the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), unifying under its control the regulation of all interstate and foreign commerce by wire or by radio. The commission to date is made up of seven members with James L. Fly as its chairman. Its specific duties and functions are as follows:

1. Regulation of all interstate and foreign communication, whether by wire or radio, or whether by signs, signals, pictures, or sound.
2. Receive and pass upon applications for radio broadcasting stations.
3. Assign voltage power and operating frequencies.
4. Determine rules and regulations for licensing radio operators—professional and amateur.
5. Regulate amateur broadcasting and receiving.
6. Promote safety of life and property through use of communication on land and sea.
7. As a national defense measure, establish and

operate the Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP VERSUS PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

The question of government ownership of radio broadcasting stations as opposed to private ownership involves the consideration of one different angle not present in the usual question of government ownership versus private ownership of public utilities. Although the problem of monopoly and efficiency is still part of the question, a new factor enters—that of public opinion and public morale. Like the newspaper, the radio is beginning to stand out as a symbol of freedom of speech and expression. But like the newspaper, and perhaps increasingly more so, the radio is an instrument which has the power of molding and influencing public opinion and morale. For that reason, more so than the usual reasons, some people feel that government ownership and operation would be preferable to private ownership and operation. The arguments given are:

1. The radio broadcasting stations are owned and controlled by commercial interests whose programs are in the main motivated by profits. As a result, radio programs are not always of a nature that serves the best interests of the people. They cite such programs as "soap operas," to which millions of housewives listen daily and which are regarded by the objectors as an insult to the average American intelligence. They cite also the "cheap" radio thrillers on children's programs, designed to sell the different brands of breakfast cereals, by appealing to the children's emotions. To the opposing argument that people don't have to listen to these programs, they point to the fact that people do listen to them because there is very little else on the air during parts of the day and because the public hasn't yet been fully educated to listen to and appreciate the "better" type of program.

2. The annoyance of repeated and cheap advertisements is cited as a second factor. Some comedians on the air even base their own humor on mimicking these advertisements. As some products are presented over the air, it often seems as if it is a matter of life or death as to whether one uses one or another type of breakfast food or soap, or tooth paste. Not only are people continuously annoyed and irritated by this type of advertising, their minds are often dulled and dwarfed as a result of it.

3. The third argument against private ownership and control of radio broadcasting is that the radio is an instrument of propaganda and as such, its control by a few corporations is dangerous to the public as a whole. This phase will be treated in greater detail under the discussion of radio and propaganda.

4. The fourth and final argument is that govern-

ment ownership and control works well in such countries as England. This argument as well as the first three arguments are of course debatable as will be discussed.

Arguments Opposed to Government Ownership and Control:

1. United States industry has been built upon the profit motive and private enterprise. The development of the radio industry as it exists today, is an indication of the superiority of private control over government control.

2. Even though private commercial interests theoretically control and determine the types of programs, they are continuously changing their programs to suit the wants and desires of the listening public. In addition, the proponents of private control point to such educational programs as "Town Hall of the Air," "Information Please," as well as the numerous musical programs which are products of private control.

3. Government ownership and control might lead to complete elimination of freedom of expression, as is the case in dictatorship countries.

RADIO AS AN AGENT OF PROPAGANDA

To start with, it must be stressed that of late, propaganda has assumed a one-sided meaning, usually vicious in nature and in purpose. Broadly speaking, propaganda is merely the spreading of information and knowledge with the view of influencing peoples' thinking and actions. As such, propaganda may be either good or bad, constructive or destructive, depending upon the purpose in back of it. The spoken word as transmitted by the radio is a more powerful weapon of propaganda than the written word transmitted either by the newspaper, book or magazine.

First of all, it can reach more people for the simple reason that there are fewer people who can't hear than who can't read. Second, the written word depends for its force upon the reader's previous knowledge and requires a greater amount of concentration, whereas the spoken word not only has the force of the listener's previous knowledge, but requires a lesser amount of concentration on the part of the listener.

In addition the spoken word can be emotionalized to various degrees of power depending upon the ability of the speaker. As presented over the radio, the spoken word can be accompanied with music and with drama (much more effectively than with the written word) which are in themselves powerful weapons of propaganda. Third, the radio makes possible the personal touch of famous personalities.

Lastly, it can combine all these factors, music, drama, emotion, and personality in one presentation. The power of such combination was revealed a few

years ago when one-half of the nation was panic-stricken by Orsen Welles's dramatization of H. G. Wells's "Martian Invasion of the Earth." In retrospect, the entire incident may appear humorous to most of us, but it is a living example of the power of the radio as an agent of propaganda both in peace and war.

In 1940, when France succumbed to the Panzer Divisions of Germany, one of the conditions of the armistice was the denial to the French of the right to broadcast or to receive broadcasts by short wave. It is significant that the Nazis felt that radio communication was a more potent weapon than the French fleet, which the French were permitted to keep. Radio today, both long and short wave broadcasting, can of course be used as either a weapon of war or of peace. The Germans were among the first to use it as a weapon of war. According to German writers, Germany conceived of the idea of using the radio as an agent of vicious propaganda from American methods of advertising. Whether that is true or not, the Germans did realize the tremendous power of the radio in fomenting revolution, creating discontent among nations against their neighbors, creating disagreement within groups against minorities and against their governments, as revealed in the following excerpt from a German law magazine:

In modern warfare, the enemy fights not only with military weapons, but also with means which influence and crush people mentally—one of these means is radio.

From another German mind comes the following:

We spell radio with three exclamation marks because we are possessed in it of a miraculous power—the strongest weapon ever given the spirit—that opens hearts and does not stop at the border of cities and does not turn back before closed doors; that jumps rivers, mountains, and seas, that is able to force people under the spell of one powerful spirit.

It wasn't long before all nations, including the United States recognized this power of the radio and began to make plans to both counteract Axis propaganda, as well as initiate their own propaganda programs. Part of these plans were:

1. Jamming Axis short-wave broadcasts.
2. Banning amateur radio communication with foreign stations.

3. Short-wave broadcasting in foreign languages to European, Asiatic, and Latin-American countries.
4. Establishment of a Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service.

FUTURE OUTLOOK

The future of radio as a propaganda weapon in peace as well as in war is still an indeterminate quantity. Only a few months ago, the CBS ruled that none of its news commentators would be permitted to voice their own opinions. Cecil Brown, one of its commentators, resigned in protest, stating that the CBS by this action, muzzled the freedom of expression of individual commentators and at the same time obtained for itself, by the right of editing the news, a monopoly of propagating its own point of view on controversial issues. The CBS replied that it was safeguarding the freedom of expression by limiting the broadcasts to news and excluding personal opinions. In addition to this controversy, the Federal Communications Commission is at present undergoing a Congressional investigation, the outcome of which may affect the degree of the Commission's control in the future.

CONCLUSION

We have seen that both the newspaper and radio in all their aspects enter into the life of every individual. With every increase in the degree of complexity of our social, political and economic life, the means of transmission and communication of ideas, knowledge and information, had to be changed, modified, and improved, in order to meet the needs arising out of this increased complexity. Social progress doesn't end with one generation. It is a continuous process. We can look forward therefore, to still more changes in the future, as is already evident from the many developments in science growing out of World War II.

None of us can predict the future, but the social problems that will arise will probably be not less numerous nor less important. The meeting of these problems will demand greater understanding and more cooperation from everyone of us. The more enlightened the majority of the people, the easier it will be to meet and solve these problems. A democracy to function successfully demands a citizenry that is intelligent, alert, and well informed. Basic to these requirements is the freedom of the press.

Revised Historical Viewpoints

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GEORGE MORGAN AND THE MISSISSIPPI QUESTION¹

The problem of the opening of the Mississippi to American trade in the latter days of the eighteenth century would not be complete without mention of Colonel George Morgan. His efforts to colonize under Spanish rule is an interesting sidelight on the admixture of personal profit-seeking together with the diplomatic rivalry of Spain, Britain and the United States for the control of that region.

Morgan had earlier sought a fortune in western lands through a British royal land grant to his Indiana Company. When this failed under the Congress of the Confederation, largely through the opposition of Virginia, he petitioned Congress for the sale to him of a new tract. In 1788 he asked for lands in Illinois at one-third of a dollar an acre. When Congress offered to sell at a price of two-thirds of a dollar an acre to Morgan's new company, the New Jersey Land Society, he backed out of the arrangement. He alleged that Congress had reserved the best lowlands from his purchase. His real reason was a new interest in a new adventure in the dominions of Spain under the auspices of the Spanish minister, Gardoqui.

The latter had been sent by the Spanish king to Louisiana to block American expansion on his domains in Florida, Louisiana, and farther south, Mexico. Gardoqui was instructed to induce the United States to agree to the closing of the Mississippi to free American trade in return for trade privileges with Spain and the Canary Islands. Spanish agreement to latitude 31° as the boundary between the United States and Florida was another concession. Gardoqui was also to encourage colonies of Americans on the west bank of the Mississippi offering freedom of trade, land grants and religious toleration. These concessions, it was hoped, would alienate Americans of the West from the United States. Americans on the east bank would be denied free access to the Mississippi and New Orleans.

Meanwhile Morgan's negotiations with Congress for land in Illinois were approaching consummation. The only remaining difficulty was that Congress desired to reserve lands there for the original French inhabitants. Morgan objected to the amount and to their location. At this point, in 1788, Gardoqui indirectly approached Morgan through a mutual friend, possibly Thomas Hutchins, with a proposi-

tion that he establish a colony in Spanish territory on the west bank. Morgan subsequently wrote Gardoqui proposing that he obtain a grant as large as Congress had been willing to sell him in Illinois; that complete religious toleration be allowed; that Morgan command the new colony subject to the governor of Louisiana and an oath of allegiance to the Spanish king. The colony was to have local self-government subject to the veto of the Spanish governor. Gardoqui agreed to the proposition in September, 1788.

Morgan then dissolved the New Jersey Land Society and made arrangements with Gardoqui to select a tract including a site on the Mississippi near the mouth of the Ohio as a city and port of entry from the Ohio Valley region. Morgan raised a party of about seventy Pennsylvania Germans including artisans, farmers and tradesmen. They were promised navigation to New Orleans free of all duties and land to be bought in tracts of 320 acres at one-eighth of a dollar per acre. The party set out on January 3, 1789.

Gardoqui wrote the king in approval of Morgan's project stating that it would safeguard Spanish interests in Florida and Louisiana against American expansion. Morgan's expedition was launched at a time when Kentuckians were threatening secession from the United States in order to get navigation rights. Some American officials feared that Morgan's project would encourage secession and eventual break-up of the American union. Madison, Jefferson and General Harmar were not alarmed, considering the project silly and suicidal on Spain's part.

Morgan was delayed in his expedition by the discovery of John Connolly's plot to arouse the West to seize New Orleans with British aid. Morgan warned Gardoqui of this scheme. Connolly met with an accident and retired to Canada. He was succeeded by one McGinnis. Sounding out people of the West, Morgan found them cool to Connolly's plan and also to General Wilkinson's plan of an alliance between Kentucky and Spain. Morgan finally succeeded in making a survey for his city at the confluence of the St. John's River with the Mississippi, twelve leagues south of the Ohio. His whole provisional grant contained 15,000,000 acres, two degrees west of the Mississippi and between St. Come, Perry County, Missouri, and the mouth of the St. Francis River in Arkansas. The site of his city on the St. John's was a strategically important one. It commanded the Ohio and the Mississippi and afforded easy access to the West. It was

¹ Max Savelle, "The Founding of New Madrid, Missouri," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIX (June 1932), 30-36.

a splendid entrepot for the staples of Kentucky and the Ohio Valley as a whole. It lay close to the fur trade of the Missouri. His new city, New Madrid, would furnish profits to the Spanish king on the goods Americans on the Ohio brought there, provided Spain closed the Mississippi to them and only levied a five per cent tax on goods entering New Madrid.

Subject to the king's approval, Morgan assigned 320 acres to each member of his expedition provided that each built a house and settled on the land, took an oath of allegiance to the Spanish king, and, once the final authorization was made, paid forty-eight Mexican dollars for the land. Morgan laid out a model community with broad streets, trees and parks. Hunters were to be excluded from the tract so as to provide game for the Indians and to preserve the wild life. Morgan invited the Indians of the Ohio to migrate there to hunt animals for food, assuring them that no white hunters would be allowed to kill game for furs. Morgan left Joseph Story in charge of the colony with Benjamin Harrison to complete the survey of a thousand farms while he went to New Orleans to confer with Governor Miro. From there he planned to go to Spain to confer with Gardoqui and receive final royal authority.

Wilkinson, however, had aroused Miro's opposition to Morgan's plan, pointing out that entry at New Madrid for Kentucky goods would disincite them to secede from the United States and to join Spain. Wilkinson wanted a grant of land at the same spot as Morgan, the right to transport goods to New Orleans, and to permit only the Catholic religion in his proposed colony. Morgan's self-governing colony and religious freedom seemed a danger to Louisiana and New Spain (Mexico). Morgan disabused Miro somewhat of the views presented by Wilkinson but nonetheless Miro's opposition wrecked Morgan's plan, though eventually his city flourished. Wilkinson had told Miro that Gardoqui had authorized Morgan to sell lands. Miro objected to this and instead proposed to grant them free to families. He approved the allotments which Morgan had already made. Miro also objected to the idea of complete religious freedom; the only public worship that he would allow was Roman Catholic.

Miro declared that Morgan had erred in giving settlers an incorrect impression that he had a grant from the king; he had usurped the king's rights in laying out a city and calling it "our city." He agreed to confirm Morgan's grants and to allow him to bring in more settlers if they would accept Miro's terms. Further he agreed to recommend to the king and to grant him and his sons each 1,000 acres if he would accept his terms. Morgan apologized for his zeal and protested his affection and loyalty to the king. Miro gave him two commissions: (1) Authority to bring

in new settlers; (2) authority as vice-commander at New Madrid. He also instructed him to proceed as follows: Land grants were to be free; there was to be no interference with religion, but there was to be no public worship save Catholic; there should be a free market at New Orleans. The settlers were to take an oath of allegiance to the king, help defend the colony, and subject themselves to the laws of the king administered by his officers.

Miro reported to Valdez, Secretary for the Indies, that Morgan was guilty only of zealous impatience and that Gardoqui had promised too much. A self-governing community would never develop affection for the Spanish government and customs, he declared. The people would revolt at the first dispute and religious toleration would further their rebellious tendencies. Valdez wrote Miro of the king's approval of his negotiations with Morgan and of naming the city New Madrid. In the meantime, on July 28, 1789, Morgan arrived at Philadelphia and advertised his project informing Miro of his activities. On August 20, 1789, Morgan acquainted Gardoqui with the latest developments, concluding that Wilkinson's schemes were injurious to Spain's interests. He also informed Gardoqui of the harmful nature of Connolly's scheme, declaring that the only safeguard for Spain, in view of the migration of 150,000 Americans in the past decade to Kentucky, was his plan of local self-government and land sales. This would attract the better type of immigrants. Partial or unwise policies might convert this opportunity to secure American loyalty as Spanish subjects into a threat against Spain's interests.

Shortly thereafter Morgan suddenly lost interest in his colonization project. His reasons can only be conjectured. His brother, Dr. John Morgan, died leaving him the bulk of his estate. This included a large tract of land in Pennsylvania. Then, too, the Constitution had been adopted and possibly Morgan felt that under the new Courts which were to be established, he might be successful in behalf of his Indiana Company in a suit against Virginia.

Morgan did not return to New Madrid. Practically all the seventy migrants who had accompanied him there returned home chiefly because of a great flood. The settlement prospered, however, as many French from Vincennes and the Illinois and Ohio Indians settled there or nearby. Morgan became engrossed in the management of his brother's estate and in the affairs of the Indiana Company. By 1791 he saw that the United States eventually would drive the Indians across the Mississippi and then follow them, unless Spanish settlements there and the government should restrain them. On February 24, 1791, he wrote Gardoqui that Spain's only hope of holding the Mississippi country was to create colonies, granting civil and religious liberty to American colonists so as to turn them to loyalty to their new country.

Teaching History for Attitudes

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The Saturday Evening Post, January 20, 1945, in an article entitled "Why Not Teach American History?" took up the crusade which was begun by *The New York Times* in April, 1943. Much as did *The Times*, *The Post* asserted that Americans are ignorant of their nation's history, and that a large share of the responsibility for this ignorance rests upon the schools. In his argument in *The Post*, Henry Pringle has accepted as fact a number of the findings of *The Times'* so-called "test" as proof that citizens within and without the schools do not know American history.

When it was subjected to the examination of educational experts, *The Times'* quiz was shown to be of an inferior nature as measured in terms of what properly constitutes an objective test. At best, it tested the amount of isolated material of a factual nature which had been retained in the minds of those who submitted to the quiz. *The Post* has placed its blessing upon this method of determining whether or not Americans know their history, and by implication has suggested that state legislatures pass laws requiring the teaching of United States history in the schools. It is therefore plain that this question has been thrown into the focus of public attention. The present crusade to teach "fundamentals" in American history may be analyzed correctly only in the light of the developing pressure which is being exerted from conservative, non-school forces which are demanding that all types of "progressive education" be thrown out of the schools.

Whether they go under the name of "social studies teachers" or "history teachers," all those educators who are concerned with training of young Americans strongly favor the teaching of American history. These teachers are quite aware of the fact that the glorious record of our nation's growth cannot be overemphasized. We could begin teaching primary children American history, and probably should, provided we use methods suitable to their stage of development. We could teach more American history in the second grade, and in each succeeding grade, including the twelfth. In fact, social studies teachers who understand their business constantly relate whatever history they are teaching to the story of our own land.

The crucial question remains: Is history to be taught as *The Times* and *The Post* apparently desire that it be taught? Is history teaching to become a presentation of the dry bones of the past? Fortunately, *The Times* and now *The Post* have admitted that American history may be an interesting subject.

Teachers understand that point. But teachers want it to be more than interesting. They want it to be vital, with direct relationship to the present and to current problems and issues.

The writer has always taught history with the aim of dispelling anti-social attitudes among students. The teaching of history has significance only when the end result for the student is healthy attitudes toward the democratic way of life. Does this mean that less history should be taught in the schools? No! It means that more history should be taught, only that there needs to be a changed emphasis in the teaching of history.

If teachers of history are to be honest, we must grant the point that even the kind of history teaching that *The Times* and *The Post* demand, is better than no teaching of history. A person with a consciousness of the contributions which have been made by his predecessors to whatever material and spiritual comforts he may enjoy, is anxious to gain the knowledge which will enhance his appreciation of all those who have struggled to make life more livable. The record of this struggle is filled with color, drama, pathos. Properly understood, history lives and breathes. But to teachers in a democracy, there is more than that inherent in the record of the past.

The struggle for a better world has been variously evaluated as a class struggle between the haves and the have-nots, or as a fight between the perpetrators of tyranny and the advocates of political liberty, or as a conflict between the forces of darkness and moral righteousness of Christianity. Whatever may be the orientation of the particular teacher, if he is to be true to his function in this land, those elements in the history bear most attention which throw into bold relief the contrast between the forces of reaction and those of progress.

For example, in the teaching of world history, it is not enough to indicate that Prince Metternich dominated the Congress of Vienna, which met after the Napoleonic Wars amidst an unknown degree of splendor and social snobbishness. Prince Metternich is a famous historical figure. Was he a great man? This point is debatable. Certainly, if he had had his way, the struggle for freedom would be in its infancy. This should be stressed in the classroom. Students should discuss the ramifications of Metternich's policies in this light.

Further, there should be a constant drawing upon current sources in illustrating points, and for purposes of comparison. The writer ran into something rather interesting in this connection. We were dis-

cussing the unification of Italy in a world history class. A student made the apt deduction that Cavour was much like Churchill in that they were both clever politicians who wanted the people to have some democracy but not too much. The teacher granted the possibility that the student had uncovered a significant comparison.

Of course, the teacher is not a "preacher," nor should he be. Nor is his proper function that of a moralizer. Further, it should be noted that in teaching history for democratic attitudes, results cannot be gained in a day, a week, or a month. The merit of the teacher's work will, in the final analysis, be measured years hence when the student takes his place as an adult citizen prepared to promote through active means a more vital democracy. But it has been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that student attitudes toward social problems can be changed.¹ The teaching of history offers perhaps the best opportunity for bringing about the desired changes through the use of educational methods which are professional and fair to the student.

It stands to reason that some students will gain an understanding more rapidly and of a far more profound nature than will others. The writer once had in class a Jewish lad who was already painfully aware of the problems which beset certain minority groups. This boy was called into the army, being sent

to a camp in the South from which he wrote the following letter. It showed an awareness of a problem, a type of consciousness which is the first step toward remedial action. Need the writer say that his receiving this letter impressed him with the thought that teaching has many rewards?

. . . To my way of thinking and from what I've seen of the South, the Negro doesn't have a chance. . . . There are only about three or four things he can do, and they are the dirtiest of all physical labor. The kids don't have to go to school, at least it seems that way, and they live in broken-down shacks in the worst part of town.

All railroads have separate waiting rooms for Negroes. They are not allowed in lots of places, and many towns have curfew laws.

After talking to Southern boys, many of them seem to blame such things as rape and felony on the Negroes, when chances are that they weren't responsible. . . .

It all boils down to the fact that the Negro doesn't get a chance to educate and better himself. . . .

Here is a youth with a social point of view. Between the lines, it can be read that he dislikes discrimination against minority groups and wants to do his part in putting an end to it. We need more young folks of this kind, and teachers of history can play a vital part in preparing for adult citizenship, individuals who have a deep social consciousness.

¹ See various studies conducted by Professor H. H. Remmers: *Studies in Attitudes*. The Division of Educational Reference, Purdue University.

Turkey, Guardian of the Dardanelles

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INTRODUCTION

If the average American were asked to describe Turkey's position in the world of today, the answer most often given probably would be, "She's a neutral." That sentence tells the story but not the complete one. Turkey has played her hand with rare skill during World War II, and along with Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, and Portugal has been spared the destruction resulting from war.

During the early years of this titanic struggle, Turkey perhaps unconsciously leaned toward Germany, for the Germans were the primary purchasers of goods and commodities from the Ottoman Empire as well as a partner during World War I. The Turks welcomed neutrality as Hitler and his cohorts drove all before them, but as the tide of battle turned in 1943, 1944, and 1945, the Turkish people modified their stand and declared war on Germany and Japan on February 23, 1945, to assure themselves a

place at the future conferences of the Allied Powers.

By January 1945 Turkey and the United Nations reached an agreement of far-reaching importance, yet the achievement accomplished, the opening of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, passed almost unnoticed as the Russians swept toward Berlin and MacArthur retook Manila. By this agreement, the tedious land route through Iran to Russia over which supplies for the Soviet Army traveled was relieved of the heavy strain placed upon it from 1942-1944.

The agreement shortens by several thousand miles the land and sea route of supplies destined for Russia and immeasurably advances the cause of the United Nations. To compensate Turkey, Great Britain and the United States agreed to purchase the majority of Turkish imports and to supply certain essential material to the nation.

At the peak of operations, the Middle East force of the United States, operating the overland route,

consisted of 30,000 officers and soldiers and some 45,000 native laborers who performed all types of tasks ranging from loading, guarding, and driving trucks to repairing roads. The magnitude of the task of the Persian Gulf Command may be more readily envisioned when one stops to consider that during the two and one-half years of operation, this group of American citizens with the aid of native labor hauled 5,000,000 tons of goods, delivered 200,000 vehicles, and assembled and delivered 4,800 planes of all types.

Today, some 18,000,000 Turks live within the boundaries of the Turkish Republic while approximately 21,000,000 reside in other parts of Asia, principally the Soviet Union. The land area of Turkey is 294,495 square miles which is about the size of the combined areas of the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, and Indiana. A small portion of Turkey, some 9,895 square miles, lies in Europe and borders Greece and Bulgaria. This European area permits the Turks to control the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmara, and the Bosphorus, the vital water link between the Black and Aegean Seas.

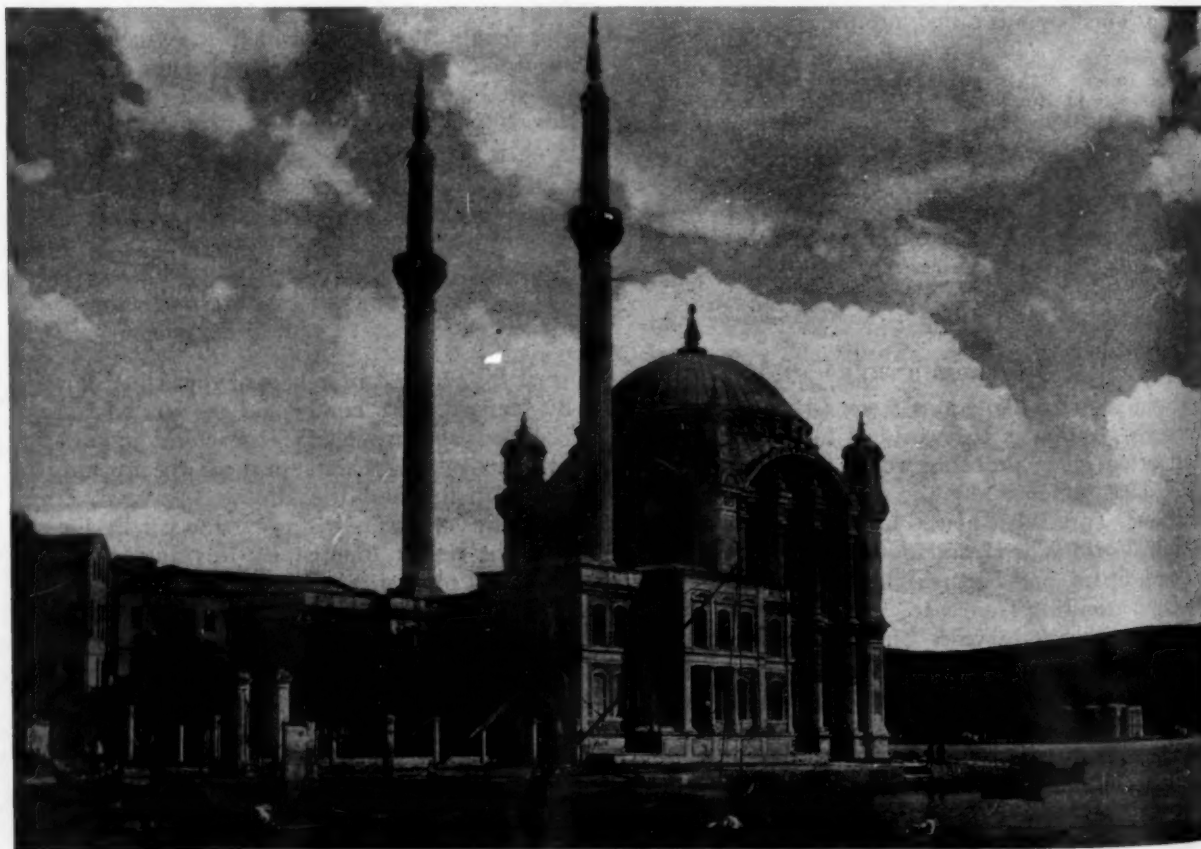
In Asia, her neighbors are Iraq, Syria, Iran, and the Soviet Union. The capital is now located at Ankara and is by far more centrally located than Con-

stantinople, later renamed Istanbul, the old capital of the Ottoman Empire. Within the past three decades, Turkey has improved her economic and commercial position in the world and under the leadership of two men, Kemal Ataturk and Ismet Inonu.

Ataturk embodied the new spirit that created and developed the new Turkish Republic and since his death on November 10, 1938, Ismet Inonu, the second president, has guided the nation through one of the most critical periods of its modern history.

To understand Turkey and its strategic position at the crossroad of two worlds, the east and the west, one must go back 6,000 years. On the Asiatic shores of the Dardanelles, archaeologists have unearthed the ruins of ancient Troy; the Ottoman Empire was the scene of the fierce struggles between the Cross and the Crescent, namely the Crusades; on the shores of old Turkey was fought the historic battle of Gallipoli where Ataturk distinguished himself in battle, and Churchill served as a junior officer with the British forces.

Turkey fared poorly as a partner of Germany in the first World War. The Treaty of Sevres, France, concluded on August 10, 1920, dissected the old Ottoman Empire and set up several new states. Arabia, Syria, and Palestine passed to the control



MOSQUE OF SULTAN ABDUL MEDJID LOCATED NEAR ISTANBUL

Ewing Galloway

of Great Britain and France, the country was stripped of armaments, an international commission to administer the Straits came into being, and the resources and finances of the Ottoman Empire were rigidly controlled.

Hardly had the ink dried on the parchment before violations of the provisions of the treaty took place. The lid blew off when the Greeks occupied Anatolia by way of the port of Smyrna (now Izmir) on May 14, 1919, and the Turks rallied to oppose them. Beset by Greek, Italian, French, and Armenian forces, the Turkish position appeared hopeless, yet with the defeat of the Armenians in 1920, the other powers withdrew after failing to reach a decisive conclusion. On October 11, 1922, an armistice ending the conflict was signed by British and Turkish officials. From that day on and from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire arose a new Republic which was however to witness both strife and reincarnation. Its leader was Kemal Ataturk.

Ataturk is a surname adopted in 1932, when by law it became obligatory for all Turks to adopt surnames, which previously they had not had. Lack of surnames created many complex problems. Some of the surnames had unusual origins, for example, Ismet Inonu, the present president of the Turkish

Republic selected his surname in an effort to commemorate Ataturk's military victory over the Greeks at Inonu in 1921.

As representative to Lausanne to arrange a treaty with the European powers, Ataturk chose Ismet Inonu who later became the second president of the Turkish Republic. Inonu, despite great odds, successfully steered Turkey through this negotiation and when the treaty of Lausanne was signed on July 24, 1923, it represented a diplomatic victory for the growing nation.

From Lausanne, Ataturk and Inonu moved rapidly in plotting Turkey's course in the field of international diplomacy. Ataturk strengthened Turkish ties with Russia by signing a ten year "Pact of Neutrality and Friendship" in 1925 and renewing it in 1935. In line with its plan for security, Turkey joined the League of Nations in 1932 and actively participated until the League ceased to function. In 1937 the Republic's statesmen signed the Saadabad Pact with Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan which guaranteed to each noninterference in internal affairs and maintenance of the status quo in boundaries.

When Ataturk, who was born in Salonika in 1880, died on November 10, 1938, he left a worthy successor, Ismet Inonu. Skilled in politics and known



THE CITY OF ISTANBUL, FORMERLY CONSTANTINOPLE

Ewing Galloway

throughout Europe, America, and Asia, Inonu was elected president, to complete Ataturk's unexpired term, by the Grand National Assembly, on November 11, 1938, the twentieth anniversary of the Armistice which concluded World War I.

CLIMATE AND TOPOGRAPHY

Bounded on three sides by water, Turkey is almost a small continent in itself. With her soil a passage during early times for east-west traders or warriors, inhabitants of nearly every important European country have at one time or another visited here. Only along the Aegean Sea and the Strait did western civilization secure a foothold and the major portion of Turkey has therefore remained primarily Asiatic in character and nature.

In geometric terms, Turkey is rectangular and the "grain" of the country is east-west rather than north-south. The land is not fertile and is largely undeveloped. The central portion of Turkey is in some respects a continuation of the steppes of Central Asia which are high and barren. During the winter these steppes are snow-covered and in summer are scorched by the sun.

Turkey is criss-crossed with rivers which arise in the central steppes and which become raging, swirling torrents during the spring. During the summer and early fall, these same rivers dry up but about Ankara, the water problem has been solved by irrigation developments centering around the Cubuk Dam. This irrigation development about the new capital is an extensive one and the transformation in appearance of vegetation which it has brought about is amazing. Some Turks even claim that Ankara's climate has been immeasurably improved by this project.

Turkey does not have an over-abundance of forests. Only in the northern section of the country, along the coast of the Black Sea, are there extensive tracts of timber. The dry climate of many sections accounts for the lack of forests and in other parts where trees readily grow, the Turks have cut down vast tracts without giving any thought to replanting. This procedure, short-sighted indeed, came about largely because most Turks were nomadic and moved on when the land became exhausted and partly because of the short-sighted policy of a backward government. As late as 1914, timber, urgently needed for war purposes, was cut down in the region of Adana without any thought of replanting to replenish the nation's supply.

From time immemorial, this nation has been shaken by earthquakes and frequently has suffered from violent tremors. As late as June 20, 1943, the section lying sixty miles east of Istanbul along the Istanbul-Ankara Railroad suffered heavily. The epicenter of the shock was near the town of Adapazar,

where most of the buildings were wholly or partly wrecked. Adapazar is a small city of about 20,000 and one-tenth of the population, some 2,000 people, perished in this disaster.

As for rainfall, Turkey may be divided into two parts: the sections along the seacoast with twenty or more inches of rain a year, and the plateaus, semi-arid in nature, with less than ten inches of precipitation a year.

AGRICULTURE

Like so many other countries of the world, the population of Turkey is predominantly rural. Four out of every five inhabitants are dependent on agriculture for a livelihood and agriculture and grazing account for approximately 75 per cent of the national income.

The most important crop is wheat and it is grown throughout the country. The per acre yield of 16.3 bushels is satisfactory and compares favorably with other nations. Emphasis upon wheat production by Turkish agricultural officials has increased acreage and production to an extent that Turkey is now exporting instead of importing this commodity.

Another crop of importance is tobacco and during peaceful times tobacco accounts for fully one-half of all Turkish exports. Many of the agriculturalists are tobacco producers for it is a ready cash crop. Turkish tobacco is said to be an adaptation of an American tobacco and is grown principally in two localities: the far west and the north central sections.

Cotton has been an important staple in Turkey during recent years and has received extensive governmental support. From 1922 to 1940, the production of cotton increased threefold and as this commodity has extensive war uses, its cultivation is receiving continued support from the Agricultural Bureau. Turkey also produces figs, filbert nuts, olive oil, grapes, and raisins, all of which figure heavily in the export trade.

While Turkey contains 294,495 square miles, about 30 per cent is arable. The soil is thin and heavily eroded and as many Turks are nomadic, they simply moved when the land failed to produce satisfactorily rather than resort to scientific farming.

Pastures and meadows cover some 35 per cent of the country and grazing is an important part of the national economy. The shepherd with his crook and dog are as well known as the story of the Mayflower. Even in the tenth century, the Turk was a nomad and wherever grass grew, his flocks grazed. When the grass was cropped, the shepherd and his flock moved on.

A large portion of continental Turkey is 3,000 feet or more above sea level and the central portion of the country appears monotonous with the countryside tinged in brown throughout the year. Conditions

in other districts (vilayets as they are called) differ and in the east the country rises to the majestic peaks which are the tallest in Western Asia.

The average Turkish farmer generally has enough food for his household but seldom obtains any degree of prosperity. The peasant often does not own the land which he cultivates and his economic position is in many respects similar to the American sharecropper. He does not have an extensive knowledge of scientific agriculture or crop rotation but those cultivating larger tracts are receiving aid from Turkish agricultural officials.

Most of the farmers supplement their staple crop with peaches, pears, apples, lemons, olives, and strawberries. From the animals of the flock, wool is obtained for clothing. Turkish mohair is produced in the interior sections of the country and in Anatolia the raising of goats is an important occupation.

Turkey is not endowed with a high degree of literacy and off the beaten path conditions are much the same as two thousand years ago. The Turkish peasant, clinging to the customs and beliefs of his ancestors, still utilizes the services of the *ajuhaldji*, the professional letter writer, who is an accepted member of the rural community.

For the average peasant, the center of life is the *locanta*, the native restaurant, where the inhabitants gather to discuss their affairs and to enjoy gypsy music. The younger group participates in the dancing while their elders eat country cheese cooked in sheep fat.

INDUSTRY

Turkey's progress in industrialization has been accomplished within the past two decades, yet in terms of western standards the nation does not rate highly. In 1922, when all Greeks were repatriated in Greece and Turkish residents in Turkey, the latter lost some of her most industrial-minded citizens. The loss was in keeping, however, with the national policy of abolition of extraterritorial rights for foreigners and the special privileges which went with such protection. The policy was adopted mainly because foreign capital controlled the railroads, banks, and utilities and outside interests exerted too great an influence on the national life of the country.

Despite the interest of both the government and its citizens in industrialization, there are not more than 25,000 industrial workers in Turkey today. Numerous craftsmen with their apprentices and the journeymen cannot be considered part of the industrial machine. Perhaps the two greatest drawbacks to industrialization are limited amounts of the basic mineral resources essential to an industrial economy and the fact that by nature the Turk is an agriculturalist. If given a machine, the Turk does well until the machine breaks down, then he runs into serious trouble for he's not mechanically minded.

There is no concentration of industry in Turkey and the few large factories are scattered throughout the country. At Kayseri, in central Turkey, will be found the largest cotton mill in the Near East and it resembles the best found in America or Great Britain. Modern machinery is employed and working and sanitary conditions are the best. In keeping with western trends, the mill has a hospital, a free motion picture theater, and attractive grounds. Other industries in Turkey are paper, steel, and chemical manufacturing, and metal and glass production.

CITIES

The principal city of Turkey is Istanbul which has a population of 883,599. Its buildings and mosques can be seen from the distance as one approaches the city from the Sea of Marmara. From early times, Istanbul, the former capital, has been important and has been looked upon with envy by invaders for generations. Half of the city is located on the European side and the other section often referred to as the Scutari is situated on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus.

Perhaps the real splendor of Istanbul lies in its mosques, the religious temples of the Mohammedan. The greatest of all the mosques, the St. Sophia, was built as a Christian cathedral by Constantine the Great in A.D. 326, but it was destroyed by fire in 532 during the reign of Justinian. Rebuilt, it was converted into a mosque when Mohammed II captured the city in 1453. The building was constructed of marble. Like all mosques it contains a courtyard where people may sit at tables and smoke and converse.

In the European sections, Galata and Pera, are found the principal shipping and banking facilities of the city. During peaceful years, the ships of all the great maritime nations dock there. While perhaps French in appearance, these sections contain the best shops, hotels, and restaurants and were formerly the site of the foreign embassies. In 1923, when the capital was shifted to Ankara, the embassies reluctantly moved. The city contains Robert's College founded by Mr. C. R. Robert of New York and the Istanbul Women's College.

Ankara, far more centrally located than Istanbul, has 155,544 inhabitants and has undergone many improvements since it became the capital. Other large cities of Turkey are Izmir (Smyrna) with a population of 184,362 and Belikesir (Karasi) with 136,000.

FACTS AND FIGURES

Government. By the Constitution adopted on January 20, 1921 and amended in 1924 and 1934, the legislative power of Turkey is vested in a Grand National Assembly which consists of 429 deputies elected to office for a period of four years. The Assembly exercises executive power through a President,

elected for four years by the Assembly. Management of governmental functions and responsibilities rests with a Council of Ministers, appointed by the President. There is universal male and female suffrage in Turkey.

During the last several years, the National Assembly has enacted numerous laws tending toward westernization of the Republic. Sunday has been made the weekly day of rest in place of Friday, the traditional Mohammedan Sabbath; the metric system and the Gregorian calendar have been adopted; the fez (headdress) has been outlawed; and all Turks have been required to take family names.

Transportation. Railway facilities within the old Ottoman Empire are distinctly limited and as of December 1940, railroad mileage was 4,619, with about 95 per cent of the trackage state-owned and operated. Highways are relatively few and extended only 25,274 miles in 1940. Since that year, certain improvements and extensions have been completed in both rail and highway transportation in order to further national defense. Better roads have been established to the boundaries of Iran and Iraq.

Along the coastal sections of Turkey there is considerable water transport and the government controls the important Straits consisting of the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmara, and the Bosphorus. During normal years, the port at Istanbul handles a heavy volume of ocean traffic and in 1939 accounted

for 76 per cent of the imports and 36 per cent of the nation's exports.

Education. In Turkey, education is now compulsory, free, and secular between the ages of 7 and 16. Like so many other countries in Asia, the Turkish educational system has lagged behind developments in the New and Old World, and as a result about 55 per cent of the adult population is illiterate.

Education officials are, however, attempting to combat the situation through increased enrollments in schools and in 1940 there were 905,139 students attending primary school; 92,327 in secondary schools; 26,401 in lycees; and 12,325 in universities and other institutions of higher learning.

National Defense. Military service is compulsory in Turkey upon the attainment of the age of 20 for all physically fit young men. Either the army or the navy may be chosen but in either case, service is for three years. Upon completion, each man reverts to an inactive reserve and remains available for call until he reaches the age of forty-nine.

While the exact size of the Turkish army is a military secret, it has been estimated that a half million army personnel are now on active duty and reserves are approximately three times as great. The Turkish navy is small and consists of one battle cruiser, the *Yavuz*, two cruisers, several destroyers, and many smaller craft.

The Balkans, the Key to World Wars and World Peace

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It is noteworthy that each of the World Wars which menaced the very existence of the British Empire started not on account of imperial affairs, but as a result of political tensions in Central-Eastern Europe and the Balkans. It is equally important to notice that from the sparks of Sarajevo and the embers of Warsaw came the blaze which spread to the shores of the United States. These very facts indicate that the Balkans are the key to world-wide war and peace.

Yet, it is a *terra incognita* for the average American and Anglo-Saxon scholar, and most American and English political and historical writers have treated this strategically important region (which also represents the only remaining economic frontier of the European continent with immense potentialities of development) very lightly, prone to forget

that in both World Wars the strategy of Germany's aggression was to lead from Germany proper to the Balkans and from there to Europe as a whole with the world as the final destination.

THE SPELL OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION CONCEPT

For a long time America and Western Europe could think of Western civilization as being, somehow, identical with universal history. For the last century we have been victimized by this kind of myopia and have come to think of Western Europe as the world. Prior to the First World War, it seemed altogether plausible to think of a single world order based on the concept of Western civilization. It was a sort of cultural dominance based upon an attitude of cultural superiority which, over a long period, tended to become chronic.

When the props were put under this spell of the concept of "Western civilization" by innumerable textbooks on "The Development of Western Civilization," thousands after thousands of the college and university graduates came out from the higher institutions of learning of the United States imbued with the idea that all that is "civilized" and worthwhile had its roots in Western Europe (Germany included, of course). Since a few lines or pages were only devoted to the nations of Central-Eastern Europe, and the Balkans, the inevitable result was that these citizens knew next to nothing about this region and—what was even worse—that they came away with a definite impression that all important history was made by the large nations of Western Europe. Central-Eastern Europe got lost in the general shuffle.

This situation, in turn, led to the further neglect of interest in this region. The specialists in this field were unable to get an appointment in this specialized area of knowledge and had to, eventually, turn their attention and interest to the "popular" subjects. Since there were no textbooks systematizing the available knowledge on the region for the average history teacher, very few courses were given. Even today, when the attention of the world is focused on the events shaking the foundation of world civilization in Central-Eastern Europe, there appear to be fewer than 100 courses given in the entire country in this field—and some 40 per cent of these, again, appear to be the language courses.

THE CONCEPTS OF "BALKANIZATION"

For many years the word "Balkans" has been used derogatively with the implication of corruption, disorder and anarchy. In reality the Balkan peoples have set amazing examples of heroic battle for the principles of freedom and independence, and the overwhelming majority of the Balkan peoples were and are in favor of truly democratic regimes but up to now they have been oppressed by tyrannical minorities who have often received help from outside powers.

The Balkan history is not easily understood by the Westerner, for it is very personal to each man there and that is something foreigners can never grasp. It is too difficult for aliens, and hence most foreign books about this region are often wrong. The nineteenth century travelers in the Balkans tended to form unfavorable impressions about the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire on the grounds that they were dirty and illiterate and grasping (as poor people, oddly enough, often are), and cringing, inhospitable and ill mannered (as frightened people, oddly enough, often are). In the twentieth century their successors transferred their enthusiasm to the Russian and Austrian Empires, and regretted that

one or the other was not custodian of the Balkans. Even after the war, which showed both these great powers soft as rotten apples, and the Serbs as strong in the saving of European civilization, many Englishmen lamented that the Balkan peoples were not under the tutelage of the charming, cultured Austrians. Too many of the historians have admired the gilded staircases and crystal chandeliers of the Viennese baroque palaces, its divine musicians, great and little, and there are even some today who sigh for the re-establishment of this empire, failing to understand that all of the "glory" of the empire was possible only because of the merciless exploitation of the non-German and non-Hungarian and the Turkish minorities, particularly the peasants and artisans.

THE BALKAN GATEWAY

The grouping of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania, and Yugoslavia under the common term "Balkan" is in a sense artificial, because the five states do not form a cultural or an economic unit. With certain exceptions, these countries were once comprised within the Ottoman Empire. Until our day, however, the Balkans have remained a striking example of disunity—geographic, ethnical, linguistic, religious, cultural and political.

The region, by reason of both its geographical anchorage and its topography, seems to have been foredoomed to conflict springing from heterogeneity. Unlike its Italian and Iberian counterparts, the Balkan Peninsula has no natural line of demarcation from the European continent; in fact, the region is closely connected with it through the Danube. Similarly, at the other end the Bosphorus and the Straits of Istanbul, situated in a submerged valley, form a link with Asia. Hence, the Balkans offer easy transit to invaders, and all Balkan nations have been pushed and pulled between the active forces of two continents. For centuries, Balkan resistance has been obstructing this narrow highway of the Old World, at the price of submission to the Turk, who was aiming at the heart of Southeast Europe—Vienna. Conversely, when the Christian nations rallied to repel the Turk—a process completed only in recent times—they had to step upon the Balkan peoples. Thus the Balkans have been the scene of innumerable bloody clashes.

A line drawn southward from Belgrade via Nish to Salonika and another line from Nish through Sofia, Philippopolis, and Adrianople to Istanbul would roughly indicate the main passages followed by armies in ancient times as well as today. The existence of two broad and divergent avenues, running respectively from north to south and from northwest to southeast, facilitates alien penetration and makes the formation of powerful and stable states unusually difficult. Geographical accessibility from Asia Minor

and from Europe explains the struggles between rival cultures, institutions, religions, and nationalities. Latin-Teutonic and Byzantine-Greco-Slav influences have met here on a battleground. Moreover, throughout Balkan history both Rumania and Greece retained their cultural independence from Slavic forces. The contest between Byzantine imperialism and the imperialistic urges of the Slavic races forms one of the main themes in the early evolution of nationality conceptions in the region.

BALKAN SEPARATISM

Although integrally a part of Europe because of the Danube artery, the physical relief of the area suggests a hostile gesture against the Northwest. All Balkan rivers flow toward the east and south. The broad triangle between Nish and Istanbul in the southeast on the one hand and Salonika in the south on the other is a region torn by almost inaccessible mountain ranges. Underequipped in terms of communications, the people within this triangle are virtually cut off from the Adriatic coast. Serbia (Yugoslavia) and northern Greece cannot develop the shortest routes to the sea because of the same physical obstacles. Again, the Rhodope ridges have cut Bulgaria off from the Aegean. Her Black Sea littoral is not much help because it increases the nautical mileage between Bulgaria and Western Europe.

Nature has granted no natural point of concentration around which a great state might consolidate itself and dominate the surrounding territory. The very word "Balkan" is the Turkish expression for mountain; it indicates correctly the rugged charac-

ter of the region, which has served as a sanctuary to more than one race. The fertile areas are relatively small. In this respect, Rumania and Bulgaria are best endowed; Greece and Albania are almost entirely devoid of rich agricultural soil. On the whole, the most productive agricultural areas are located in natural pockets, so to speak. Their inhabitants are separated from their neighbors by mountain crests. The result has been a tendency toward social isolation, promoting the creation of independent worlds adverse to any outsider.

The past and present international relations of the region can be explained, in simple practical terms, by the question: "Who is to dominate Balkan Europe?" In other words, the attempts of this or that power, in the past as well as in the present, to subdue the region, and the counter-actions resulting from the opposition to such imperialistic ambitions, have been the backbone of the international problems there. If, for a while at least, some power, such as the Ottoman or the Hapsburg Empire or the Reich, succeeded in dominating a part of this region, its domination was challenged and eventually brought about the empire's downfall.

It can not be emphasized too strongly that the First World War ended when the Balkans cracked under the assault of the allied armies. This back door of Hitler's empire is cracking today, and we should not be surprised if early landings by the Allies in the Balkans would be a prelude to the downfall of Hitler's gang and the last phase of the Second World War. In that respect then, the fate of the Balkans is intimately interrelated with the fate of America.

The Core Program

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INTRODUCTION

Because of the fact that many secondary schools have become increasingly conscious that the traditional subject matter curriculum has not been proving satisfactory in light of the newer philosophies of education, a reorganization of ideas and practices has been imperative. To this end some schools are attempting to find the solution in the core-curriculum.

Meaning of the Core Program. In practice the core is usually organized around the social studies or a center of broad social or personal problems. It differs from the traditional subject matter course in the method used to select and organize it. A core represents the sum total of personal youth problems and the problems of social significance encountered

by youth. It exists without relation to subject lines and is organized around problems. These represent the basic framework of common problems the school chooses to treat with youth in groups. Each day, several hours are devoted to the core, with the same teacher preferably following the group through the four successive years in order to offer personal and group guidance.

In addition to these courses of the core, youth select for study certain individual courses designed to meet more specialized but nonvocational needs of youth.

Importance of the Core Program. "Experience outside the school," says Professor Wilson, "does not come to us as geography, history or civics, but as an amalgamation of all 'subjects' focused on current

problems and institutions. Therefore, subjects as determinants of curriculum organization are unlikeliest and antagonistic to natural learning."¹ Society demands that all adolescents be competent to use effectively the tools necessary for adequate participation in American citizenship. Those are, without doubt, reading, writing, spelling, correct English usage, social amenities, and quantitative thinking. Reading, viewed as the development of discriminative reactions to environmental stimuli, includes intelligent listening. Society demands that pupils require a knowledge of our social institutions and the part which they should play in their operation.

This means that materials must be taken from literature, art, music, science, history, and other expressions of man's struggle to produce a society in which he may be free.²

Limitation of the Program. The core curriculum can be effectively used and yet it may prove disastrous. The overlapping of subject matter fields is a good feature but it is very disruptive if teachers are unaware of it.³ The program offers a challenge for teachers to become broadened in their scope rather than narrow; however, negligence on a teacher's part makes for disastrous results. It means that the teacher must know the pupil psychologically, physically, socially, and economically. The problem of equipment and supplies has to be greater for such a program. Full cooperation of both teachers and administrators is imperative.

This program does not propose to be a panacea for all educational and curricula ills, yet it feels that a more progressive step is taken when used by teachers and pupils alike for a more effective living together, working together, and a meeting life together.

THE NEED OF ADMINISTRATION IN THE CORE PROGRAM

The first step in the successful accomplishment of any undertaking is a definite plan and organization whereby the undertaking may be successfully and efficiently put into action. In the organization of any school program of instruction, it is the duty of the principal to arrange into an adequate working whole all the elements which compose the school. These elements include the component parts of the school plant and its equipment, the various units of time devoted to instruction, the curricula, the educational

staff and all other school employees, and the student personnel. Administration must determine the fundamental program of education and see that it is protected from untimely interruptions and invasions of various sorts that are constantly threatening to interfere with the primary purposes of the school.⁴

A. The Physical Plant in Administration. In such an administration of instruction as the core program there is the need for supplying the best in physical material. More so is this true in the directional planning of a core program than one in which this procedure is not used. To this end an examination of all phases of the school plant should be taken into consideration, especially those affecting directly the instructional program.

The Classrooms. The physical set up of the classroom which attempts to use the core program should be as informal in appearance as possible. Portable and individual desks, tables and chairs, should take the place of the traditional rows of stationary seats found in the average classroom. The teacher's desk should be placed in as inconspicuous a part of the room as possible. This is more desirable from the viewpoint of helping in instruction and from the desire for more helpful environmental conditions.

Provision for classroom libraries which contain magazines, pamphlets, and newspapers as well as all types of books should be readily accessible to pupils and teachers. Bulletin boards, a radio-recording machine, charts, maps, and other visual aids are good for the most effective setting up of this type of program.

The School Library. Here is the heart and backbone of the resourceful program. Any school library to give the optimum service should be open every hour of the school day. Its shelves should include a continuous and ever-increasing number of recent books in the broad fields of science, literature, art, sociology, economics, philosophy, music, government, and history as well as the specialized fields. A constant source of gratification to the core program is the systematic and organized preservation of many magazines recent and back copies. Daily and weekly newspapers with varying points of view add much to the resources of the printed page. Single copies of these materials will not always suffice; there should be a reasonable number in proportion to the number of students using them. Up-to-date standard encyclopedias and reference works cannot be over-emphasized.

In the provision of material, the principal should not necessarily wait for requests from teachers for these things. If the teacher requests them the principal should try to secure them if possible, partly

¹ Howard Wilson: *Fusion of the Social Studies in the Junior High School* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1933), p. 150.

² Elaud Wooten: "Present Status of the Core Curriculum," *California Journal of Secondary Education*, XII (January, 1937), p. 10.

³ Edgar Draper: "Analysis of Core-Curriculum Program," *University of Washington College of Education Record V* (March, 1940), p. 235.

⁴ H. W. Nutt, *Current Problems in the Supervision of Instruction* (New York: Johnson Publishing Company, 1928), p. 48.

because the teacher will be happier and challenged to make effective use of them and partly because every manifested professional interest should be encouraged. If the principal supplies them without the request from the teacher, "he has the obligation, of course, to show its possibilities and to help the teachers in learning its successful use."⁸

The Auditorium. The average small high school

Empty and Unoccupied Classrooms. Classrooms not in use during the core hours if easily accessible can serve as committee and group study rooms of certain phases of the class problem while the teacher has drill, or individualized attention is being given to other students. By this means there is no conflict with those and no disturbing of those engaged in work peculiar to their own interests.

CHART A
A FOUR-BLOCK CORE SETUP

I	II	III	IV
A	A	A	A
A	A	A	A
C	**	**	C?
C	D	**	D?
a.	b.	c.	V
			d.

Figure 1

I	II	III	IV
A	A	A	A
B	B	B	B
C	**	**	C?
D	D	**	D?
a.	b.	c.	V
			d.

Figure 2

I	II	III	IV
A	A	A	B
B	B	B	B
D	**	**	C?
D	D	**	D?
a.	b.	c.	d.
			V
			d.

Figure 3

I	II	III	IV
A	A	A	A
A	A	A	A
C	**	**	C?
D	D	**	D?
a.	b.	c.	d.
			V
			d.

Figure 4

** Elective Teacher

?—Possible Core

A—English Teacher
B—Social Studies Teacher
C—Mathematics Teacher
D—Science Teacher
V—Home Economics Teacher
Agriculture Teacher
Trade Teacher
I—First Year Core
II—Second Year Core
III—Third Year Core
IV—Fourth Year Core

has little if no provision made for special dramatic rooms or little theaters with stages and other equipment. To this end the school auditorium should serve as an addition to the classroom whenever the need arises for its use as a part of the instructional program. This does not mean its use for the ordinary assembly, but its use as an auxiliary in the furtherance of the class work.

⁸ Thomas Briggs, *Improving Instruction* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938), p. 178.

B. Class Schedules and the Scope of the Core. In a core-conscious school the entire four-year high school program is based on English (Language Arts) and social studies. In some schools the core is in effect only in the first year. In others it may include the work of the second year as well. More experimental high schools have extended it to the third and fourth year of the high school.

Chart A shows four types of curricula organization on the basis of subjects that may be possible. In the

first year, the core subjects are English (Language Arts), Social Science, Mathematics, and Applied Science. This means that these four subjects are definitely correlated and all subject boundaries are eliminated as such. The basic problems for the youth's total experience are used as a foundation. Most of the school day is spent on the core with the same teacher (Figure 1, a) or with different teachers (Fig 2, a). The study of all teachers may revolve itself around one problem. Each teacher, as the result of teacher-pupil planning, may take special phases of the problem pertaining to his field of specialization or cooperatively plan and individually guide all phases of the problem. The experimental core of the East High School in Denver, Colorado,

specialization for the pupil as far as choosing of subjects is concerned. However, the basis of the core still remains social science and English. Half of the daily schedule is taken up with problem solving in this core area; the remainder of the day is consumed in electives of the pupils' own choosing. Again there is specialized guidance by teachers or general guidance of one teacher.

Throughout the fourth year the same procedure follows in the core with English and social science as the core. It has been found quite satisfactory to correlate very extensively the trade courses, home economics, and agriculture with the core. (Figures 1, d; 2, d; 3, d.) This type of core has proved successful at the Regional High School, Manassas, Virginia.

CHART B

MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY
Orientation and discussion of possible problems by teacher and pupils. Planning and organization of problems: a. Possible methods of solving b. Books and techniques to be used.	Group differentiation and selection of specific phases of the problems: a. Choosing of group chairmen b. Organization of specific groups c. Distribution of group work.	Research and the finding of material with teacher guidance: a. Use of class library b. Work in the main library c. Consultations with teachers that are free and might lend assistance.
THURSDAY	FRIDAY	MONDAY
Individual conferences with teacher on work of the problem. Continued research and work on the problem by the groups.	Special and individual drill for some pupils. Individuals and groups report on phases of the problem (Given to the entire class): a. Individual talks b. Panel discussions c. Question and answer method d. Demonstrations.	Reports to the class continued: a. Taking of notes by those not in the group b. General discussions of various points stressed in reports. Evaluation of group reports by fellow students. Summarization of significant things in phases of reports.

AN OUTLINED TEACHER-PUPIL SCHEDULE FOR A CORE PROGRAM

(This type of plan cannot be rigidly adhered to, but it does serve as a plan of action.)

has shown this to be a successful practice. From the student's diary comes this:

We have six core classes. Each class has its own room and its own teacher, who will act as special counselor for the students in this room. These six teachers will work with us during our entire three years at East. Each of them is a specialist in a different subject—English, social studies, vocations, science, art, and home economics . . . our studies are not separated into English, social studies, etc., but the whole topic with all six teachers is "How We Think."⁶

In the second year social science and English are again the basis of the core with science correlated. Again the problem to be solved may be taken in all aspects by one teacher, or a division may result in the teacher guidance based on subject specialization. (Figures 1, b; 2, b; etc.)

The third year is the period of selectivity and

Time Allotments. In the arrangement of schedules to meet core classes it is necessary for the best results to have classes of the core group meet all in the same part of the day. The intact groups moving from one part of the core to another is more advantageous than a helter-skelter moving from one core experience to the other. The allocation of time to various types of experiences should be considered. That is, special time should be set aside within the core for general class discussion, special activities in the field of English drill, individual and small group work, conferences with teachers, and the like. As has been previously mentioned there should be spent a greater amount of time in the core during the first two years and relatively less during the third and the fourth years. Yet where correlation can extend into the elective subjects it should by all means be done.

In the fourth year of the Regional High School during the 1941-1942 term an experiment was tried in which the core classes met every other day for half of the day, the equivalent of one hundred eighty

⁶H. H. Giles, *Teacher-Pupil Planning* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941), pp. 297-299.

minutes. It was the general opinion of students and teachers than this time-experimenting was worthwhile. First, it allowed the pupils and teachers more uninterrupted time to engage in the work in which they were primarily interested. Second, it permitted more in-the-class guidance by the teachers. Third, it eliminated in part and reduced to a minimum the preparation of work outside of the class periods. Fourth, there was a greater use of all types of visual and auditory aids and a wider and more varied reading material.

C. Selection and Allotment of Core Teachers. The wise selection of teachers to operate the core is of great importance. The first step on the part of an administrator in the making of any departmental program is to decide what phases of the core and on what levels will each of the teachers be assigned. Goodier and Miller suggest that as far as practicably wise, subjects (specialized areas) should be assigned to teachers in accordance with their choices.⁷

Yet, the principal should analyze every teacher from the standpoint of her potentialities. He should take into account all the important details of her training, experience, special abilities, and other factors which affect her efficiency.⁸ Some teachers stand out as being most competent in teaching children in early adolescence; others may be especially adapted to work in the upper grades of the high school where there are more mature pupils. Some have sympathy and indefinite patience for success with the dull; others have the intellectual keenness to promote development of the gifted; some are better in mass production, others in using ingenious devices to make possible a highly individualized program. Still others may be assigned to any grade level

with the possibility of succeeding as well in either. Too great a scrutiny and analysis can't be emphasized by the school that is initiating a core program. "It stands to reason that the greater success of the school depends in a large measure, therefore, upon assigning each teacher to the work which he can do best and in which he manifests the greater promise of growth to unusual success. It is better to have outstanding work done by half of the teachers than to have conventionally accepted work done by all of them."⁹ Giles presents four qualifications that must uniquely characterize the core teacher. The teacher must have a broad interest in a variety of human activities; there must be a deep concern about other people, "including pupils." A knowledge of how to find out information in books, from people, through work, and experimenting must be possessed by this teacher. The feeling of friendliness and a desire to cooperate, a well-balanced personality, and courage are traits to be desired.¹⁰

D. Assignment of Pupils. Homogeneous and heterogeneous groupings of pupils are a matter of question as far as the core program is concerned. It is true that achievement and intelligence ratings, scholastic achievements, and other background factors should be considered for the individual progress of each pupil but should not be considered too markedly as a basis for class groups. Yet, every effort should be provided whereby each pupil is placed where he is most likely to be happy and able to get the peculiar attention that his characteristics indicate are desirable. Whatever the assignment of pupils, individual attention and guidance should be based on carefully culminated data. This is the thing of greatest importance for teachers as well as principal.

⁷ F. Goodier, and W. Miller: *Administration of Town and Village Schools* (St. Louis: Webster Publishing Company, 1938), p. 73.

⁸ George Kyte: *The Principal at Work* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1941), p. 123.

⁹ Thomas Briggs: *Improving Instruction* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938), p. 235.

¹⁰ H. H. Giles: *Teacher-Pupil Planning* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941), pp. 136-137.

The U.S.S.R. and the Postwar World

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It is quite generally recognized today that victory in this war and success in maintaining world peace on a permanent basis after the conflict is ended depend in no small measure upon our cooperation with the U.S.S.R. Already, as a result of the Red Army's titanic achievements, the Soviet Union has experienced a tremendous increase in its relative strength. When the Axis powers are finally defeated and confronted with need for "unconditional surrender,"

the U.S.S.R. will emerge the greatest military unit between the Atlantic and the Pacific. And, together with the United States in the western hemisphere, will possess the major share of the world's industrial power.

How will Russia use this newly gained strength? Will she be content to restore her vast devastated areas, to rebuild her shattered factories and cities, to increase her industrial output all along the line?

One thing is certain. In the postwar world Russia will dominate the European continent. She will control, directly and indirectly, both the foreign and domestic policy of every country of Europe. It will be utterly impossible for any weak nation in such close proximity to survive the might of Moscow unless it submits to her terms.

Already the unassailable power that the Soviet Union will wield in the postwar world has been evidenced by its control of the conditions and circumstances governing the various conferences of the United Nations.

Russia will dominate Europe in the postwar era because Russia more than any other nation has defeated the German forces, and the Red Army will stand forth in the hour of final triumph the possessor of most of the disputed territory of the European continent.

Russia's first demand will undoubtedly be the satisfactory settlement of her western and northwestern boundaries. Already the Soviet government has announced that it considers indisputable its frontiers as they existed at the time of the German invasion on June 22, 1941. Under no circumstances will Russia waive claim to her old territory. This territory includes the three Baltic states—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania—which were separated from Russia after World War I; Bessarabia, which Rumania took by force of arms; those parts of the Ukraine and White Russia that were seized by Poland in 1920; and a section of Finland.

The U.S.S.R. in its demand for territorial integrity is moved primarily by intelligent self-interest. The Russians have borne the brunt of Hitler's mighty armies. They have suffered a greater ordeal at the hands of Nazi Germany than during any previous conflict. Never in all history has any invader penetrated so deeply into Russian territory, inflicted such terrible casualties and savage atrocities. One third of all the people in the Soviet Union have been uprooted from their homes or forced to live under German occupation.

Thus it is only logical that the Soviet government's first concern for the postwar world is to build a security system in Eastern Europe under its hegemony. Russia must be immune from attack. She must have an opportunity for reconstruction and development. She will need nothing so much as a long period of peace for rebuilding her war-ravaged cities and industries.

Given reasonable security within her own boundaries, the U.S.S.R. is not likely to threaten world peace for several decades to come.

Stalin and Molotov have made repeated announcements on Russia's behalf that the independence of Finland, Austria, Hungary, Rumania and the other Balkan States is to be desired. When Russian troops

entered Rumania, Molotov gave a public pledge that the U.S.S.R. did not pursue the aim of "acquiring Rumanian territory or altering the existing social structure of Rumania." (Of course, Moscow took it to mean that she will and should recover the province of Bessarabia.) Stalin has proclaimed the "restoration of democratic liberties" as an objective of the war and has accepted the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter.

Russia's aims in Europe are clear-cut and definite. To achieve security against the danger of renewed German aggression she is demanding, first, that her own boundaries be restored in the manner that she has already outlined. Second, she is promoting, by all means at her disposal, a regional system of those European countries adjacent to her borders. She insists that her neighbors to the west which are independent must be friendly to the Soviet government and work in cooperation with it. So long as they do not become centers of intrigue and armed action against her, she will not interfere with their internal affairs. But it must forever be impossible for them to be utilized by the Germans for some future aggression against Russia.

Colonel A. Galin, in an official Russian statement appearing in the Soviet Embassy Information Bulletin last November, listed as one of the six fundamental principles of Soviet foreign policy the strengthening of the coalition of freedom-loving nations in the fight against Fascist aggression. He stressed the "uncompromising hostility of the Soviet government toward imperialist expansion and aggression" and proclaimed the Russian policy of nonintervention in the internal affairs of other states. He spoke of his country as favoring alliances with any nation with the objective of protecting both parties from the danger of aggression. He further reiterated Moscow's desire for peaceful relations with all nations, regardless of their political institutions, and her hope for political and economic cooperation with all states on the basis of sovereign equality and the co-existence of two systems, presumably communism and capitalism.

Russia's influence will be felt in Asia. We have every reason to believe that she will favor a strong China, for she will wish to be sure that future attacks cannot be made against her by Japan.

Already Russia is making considerable diplomatic progress in Latin America. Every country south of the Rio Grande fully appreciates the Red Army's contribution to the military defeat of Germany and realizes that Moscow will inevitably play a powerful role in the postwar world.

Several South American nations have talked recognition. Uruguay, who for the past few years has carried on some commerce with Russia, has recently directed no little attention to an interchange of cultural interests.

In the immediate postwar period the U.S.S.R. will need credits, expert services, capital goods, including machinery and equipment of various kinds, and consumer goods. Russia's needs will offer unparalleled opportunities for business and commercial interests in the United States. At the same time, they will, if properly utilized, afford almost limitless possibilities for laying the foundations of better understanding, permanent friendship, and full cooperation with the Soviet Union, and ultimately for the creation and establishment of an effective international organization.

Moscow has long been favorable to some kind of a postwar association of nations. She realizes full well that the danger of a powerful Germany grew in an unorganized continent and will grow again unless there is strong unity between the powers. The future of Germany presents the greatest problem of the war. Likewise, it presents the gravest danger of conflict between Anglo-American policies, on the one hand, and, on the other, Russia in postwar Europe.

Many Americans fear collaboration with the U.S.S.R. because they earnestly believe that a United

Nations victory, being also a Russian victory, will be the signal for the spread of communism throughout the world. Others claim that with the dissolution of the Third International, announced on May 22, 1943, there automatically ended the possibility of all revolutions emanating from Moscow's propaganda.

Perhaps we would do well not to put too much emphasis upon the differences in our political ideologies and economic systems, but emphasize rather the important points of common interest. This does not mean we should surrender or even compromise with our basic ideals of freedom and liberty. It does not mean that we should gloss over the ruthless barbarities and cruel injustices of a dictatorial government. It does not mean that we should "whitewash" the anti-religious doctrine and campaign of the Bolshevik regime.

But we must make our choice between friendship and understanding with the U.S.S.R., full cooperation in winning the war and collaboration in the postwar era or the brutal reality of another world conflict. Let us choose wisely. And some day, perchance, there may emerge a free Russia.

The Nature of Freedom¹

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It would appear that this may indeed become the "Century of the Common Man,"² the century in which the common man discovers peace and accelerates his progress toward greater democracy and freedom. The common man will not be very articulate on the subject of the peace or of democracy or freedom, but these are, I believe, the things that he wants most, are the things that perhaps he understands best. Now the scientist is very much the common man in his feelings toward the peace, democracy, and freedom for he, too, is usually inarticulate on these subjects even though he has some understanding of his stake in them. This scientist, however, is speaking out, not because his information on these subjects is great, but because his stake in them is great.

We shall win our fight. Even now the enemy is covering up, trying to keep away from our "Sunday" punch. He is still a smart fighter; he is still dangerous, but we shall connect sooner or later. But when they count him out, our fight will not be over. When

they hold up our hand, our man will only know that we can lick him with our fists. He will be back to try our intellectual and moral muscles. He will try to help us lose the peace.

Yes, he will be back. This is a grudge fight, and he will come back expecting to take the next one. After the last war when we had to fight with ideas, when our weapons were democracy, freedom, equality and fraternity, we lost the fight. We didn't throw a hard punch. We may not stop him this time, either, but we can give him a fight.

The fight for the peace will be the real thing, but in this fight those miserable words—"too little and too late"—may apply with even more force than they did in the early days of the war.

What will win the fight for the peace?

In the first place, we must wake up to the fact that the battle has to be fought.

In the second place, we must know our enemy. Our enemy is nazism, fascism, and militarism; our enemy is autocracy, tyranny and license, but not all nazism, fascism and militarism or all autocracy, tyranny and license is to be found in Germany and Japan. We and our allies have home-grown varieties which are as dangerous as the foreign types. No, in our fight for the peace, the enemy will not be waiting

¹ Adapted from an address given on the occasion of the Graduation of the 14th Class, 319th College Training Detachment, Army Air Forces College Training Program, State College of Washington.

² Henry A. Wallace: Address before the Free World Association, New York, May 8, 1942.

behind fixed positions, and he will not always be found in "enemy" territory.

But most important, we need to know what will be required of us if we are to win the peace.

Will it be the size of our Air Force, Army, Navy? We could fill the skies with planes, the oceans with ships, and march our Army all over God's earth, but this will not do it.

Will it be our industrial might? We can outproduce any single nation and possibly any combination of nations, but this will not help either.

Will it be our national wealth? We are the richest nation on earth. No, you cannot buy a peace.

Will it be our scientific ability, our technical knowledge? Our engineers can seemingly build almost anything—anything but a peace.

What then, will be required of us?

It's our knowledge—our knowledge of democracy. Our knowledge of democracy could win the peace, but to do it we shall have to give democracy something more than intellectual assent, for we shall realize peace only when enough people not only believe in democracy, but are prepared to make sacrifices in its name.

How do I come by this belief? Well, some months ago I began to read and talk, asking always, "How do you think we can win the peace?"

The statesman, what does he say? He says that it is democracy. We've got to begin now to realize greater democracy here at home and throughout the world. (Wendell L. Willkie, Henry A. Wallace, et al.)

The journalist, too, thinks that democracy is the answer. (Walter Lippmann, et al.)

The serviceman—the serviceman who realizes what is happening to him—says that life in a people's army is the most democratic experience of his life, and that he hopes to incorporate some of this democracy in his life as a civilian.

The churchman—Catholic, Jewish, Protestant and Russian Orthodox—they are working and praying for the realization of more democracy now (Declaration on World Peace).³

What do our philosophers say? Some say that the truths men have lived by since time began are democratic, that democracy is actually the expression of these truths. (Jay William Hudson, et al.)

The lawyer (Raymond B. Fosdick, et al.), the educator (Robert M. Hutchins, et al.), and the scientist (Isaiah Bowman, et al.), add their testimony. They too think that it is democracy.

In this poll I have not, at least consciously, selected my subjects. I have taken them as they came and the thing that surprises me and impresses me most is the fact that these Americans show an un-American tendency to agree that the prerequisite to a lasting peace is *more democracy now*.

At the heart of democracy is freedom; freedom is the essence of democracy. To understand democracy we have to understand freedom.

What is the nature of freedom? *Freedom is doing what one must*. Doing what one must does not mean the passive acceptance of arbitrary restraints by the individual. It means:

- (1) that the individual must assert his freedom by exercising his right of initiative in the advancement of his good and the good of man.
- (2) that the individual must advance and protect his freedom by recognizing his duty of responsibility for the advancement of his good and the good of man.

The "must" or right involved in initiative, and the "must" or duty implicit in responsibility are equally important, are equally imperative, because freedom has a dual structure involving two processes of thought or action, and freedom is achieved only when the thought or action is processed twice. The one, initiative, without the other, responsibility, is license; responsibility without initiative is futility.

In the process or right involving initiative, freedom implies that one is free to do only what one must.

Let us put this analysis to the test by studying a specific freedom.

A freedom held to be particularly desirable by many Americans is the freedom from too much government, or as we call it bureaucracy. To acquire this freedom the individual must exercise his right of initiative, must interest himself actively in politics and even try to interest others, for it is indeed true that a people get the type of government they deserve. In this political activity, however, the individual must recognize his duty of responsibility if he is to achieve this freedom. Government by pressure groups lacks this responsibility, and because of it we are losing ground in our fight against bureaucracy.

In the example considered above and in countless others that the reader may supply, it is apparent that freedom is indeed the *freedom to do what one must*, recognizing always that the *must* is doubly imperative because it involves personal initiative and personal responsibility.

We Americans know this freedom but we do not know it by this name—our name for it is team play. In team play the individual player does what he *must* to play the game well. To play the game well the individual player *must* exercise his right of initiative whenever that choice is open to him. In team play the individual player *must* also recognize his duty of responsibility. He *must* keep in good condition. He *must* know his signals. He *must not* play

³Time Magazine, October 11, 1943, p. 14.

to the grandstand. No, we are not unfamiliar with the idea or the meaning of freedom; we simply have not associated freedom with team play.

On our playing fields it is axiomatic that the training is good or bad and that the game is well or poorly played to the extent that the players achieve good team play. On our playing fields, training and performance are directed toward one and the same end. In our places of government, of business, of study and even of religion our methods and our accomplishments are not judged solely by the success of the "players" in achieving good team play.

We play with freedom, but we vote, work, study and pray as often in the name of license as of freedom. We accept team play as an ennobling ideal for our sportsman, but we do not require it of our politician, our businessman, our professor, or our priest.

Meiklejohn has this to say:

We are no longer playing singles. We are members of a team. And that team which now includes all Americans gives promise that it will soon include all the people of the civilized world.

What kind of freedom has a member of a team? May he do what he pleases, when he pleases, as he pleases? Certainly not! For a team player that is the way, not of freedom, but of license. The team has common goals, common policies, common methods, which, being accepted by all the members, must be for each of them, more important, more authoritative, than any individual interest or opinion.⁴

If freedom is team play, if freedom is but the freedom to do what one must to play the game of life well, why can't we live by this freedom 24 hours a day? Why can't we vote, work, study and pray the way we play? We can, but we have to decide that this is the thing that we must do, and then we must begin doing it; we must begin exercising our freedom of initiative.

Adler, professor of the philosophy of law at the University of Chicago, has this to say:

A good education is an education for freedom only when freedom is properly understood as a function of rights and duties, both founded upon justice.⁵

⁴ Alexander Meiklejohn, "Equality and Education," an address over the Mutual Broadcasting System, February 14, 1944.

⁵ Mortimer Adler, "Freedom Through Discipline," an address over the Mutual Broadcasting System, February 7, 1944.

He, too, finds as we have found that freedom has a dual structure involving two processes: one, the right of free initiative, and the other, the duty of responsibility.

Quoting again from Adler, and to the same point:

Above all, education for freedom must be dissociated from that false liberalism . . . which consists in confusing authority with autocracy, discipline with regimentation, and hence, liberty with license. This false liberalism is nowhere more dominant than among our professional educators, our teachers colleges, and our college faculties. Of them, the words of President Barr of St. John's College can be aptly and fairly said:

"We have slithered into the belief that liberty meant being left alone, and nothing else."⁶

Although the essence of freedom, the "supreme law of life,"⁷ is doing what one must to play the game of life well, man "has devised a doctrine of enlightened self-interest, which, for sheer deviltry of destructiveness, surpasses any other use of words by which the human mind has ever deceived itself. That doctrine has so deeply corrupted our American thinking that, even in time of war, we are tempted to regard ourselves, not as a united people, taking counsel together for common ends, but as a bedlam of competing individuals of warring factions, each striving for its own advantages. That theory must be discarded. The cause of human freedom requires of us that we teach our pupils not to become shrewd in their selfishness, but to control their selfishness by an enlightened regard for the common welfare:

Education is not an agency of enlightened selfishness. It is the long, arduous, self-mastering struggle by which mankind is brought together into reasonable and generous cooperation.⁸

The war will be won when the peace is won.

The peace will be won when more democracy is achieved.

More democracy will be achieved when enough people abandon the thing they thought was freedom for the real thing—the freedom to do what they must to play the game of life well.

⁶ Mortimer Adler, "Freedom Through Discipline," an address over the Mutual Broadcasting System, February 7, 1944.

⁷ Alexander Meiklejohn, "Equality and Education," an address over the Mutual Broadcasting System, February 14, 1944.

⁸ Alexander Meiklejohn, "Equality and Education," an address over the Mutual Broadcasting System, February 14, 1944.

Visual and Other Aids

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In the post-war period we are certain to see a marked increase in the use of visual and auditory teaching aids. The highly effective training programs of the Army and Navy have stimulated widespread interest among schoolmen in the educational possibilities of an expanded audio-visual program. Teachers and administrators are making plans to step-up the use of teaching aids as rapidly as possible and are casting around for ideas to help further this purpose.

We all recognize the weaknesses of the present arrangement in most schools. Each teacher is virtually on his own so far as the use of aids is concerned. He must select the aids he wishes to use, order them, arrange for the use of projection equipment or phonograph, and be responsible for returning the materials.

Under the present arrangement, the teacher who wishes to use visual or auditory aids often has little knowledge of the aids that are available in his field. And if he has catalogues from the distributors, he may still find it difficult to make a wise choice from the hundreds of items that are available. He may lack confidence to operate the equipment himself and may find it impossible to secure student operators at the proper hours. And if these obstacles are overcome, the teacher may then show the film or slides or play the recording without a proper understanding of the function of teaching aids in the learning process and find that little or nothing has been gained from the presentation.

As a result of the bother entailed and the frequently disappointing results, many teachers do not make a regular practice of using teaching aids. It devolves upon administrators and teachers to work out plans which will eliminate the present *laissez-faire* system of audio-visual instruction.

Many schools are finding that their teaching aids program can best be administered through a central department having at its head a director who devotes part or full-time to the job of procuring and facilitating the use of audio-visual aids.

In some city systems, a central audio-visual office has been established to service all the schools in the system. This plan has both advantages and disadvantages. One of its advantages is that in cities where some schools do not have adequate equipment all the equipment owned by the whole system can be pooled and the audio-visual department can administer its use in such manner that each school shares equally. Another advantage is that the directorship of the

department will usually be a full-time position and an expert may be hired to fill it. One of the disadvantages of this arrangement is that each school must work through the central department with resulting red-tape and frequent delay.

In cities where money is available to furnish each school with needed equipment, it seems desirable to administer the audio-visual program by schools instead of centrally. This is true, however, only if each school in the system will organize its own audio-visual department with a trained person in charge.

In each school system the extent to which the program is centralized should depend upon the local situation. The point to be remembered is that someone must be made responsible for the program and an organization must be developed which will take most of the bother and fuss off the individual classroom teacher. Otherwise, aids simply will not be used to their point of greatest effectiveness no matter how many well-meaning resolutions are made by teachers and administrators.

In many schools it has been found most satisfactory to make the audio-visual department a division of the school library. In these cases the regular school librarian has often been freed of part of her library duties so that she could administer the new department. This seems to be a rather natural arrangement, since the work of the audio-visual department ties in more closely with the library than with any other school department. The program is improved if the librarian is given special training designed to make her a specialist in the field of audio-visual aids.

Space does not permit our going into an involved discussion of the functions of a teaching aids department. If the department is to assume full responsibility for the program, however, it should undertake such functions as these: (1) solicit requests for teaching aids from classroom teachers; (2) assist teachers to make intelligent selections whenever they are in doubt; (3) order aids that are not already in the school library; (4) place these aids in the teachers' hands when they arrive, together with the necessary equipment and operators; (5) recommend the purchase of new equipment and aids; (6) service equipment; and (7) instruct teachers in psychologically-sound utilization techniques.

The program will be facilitated if the audio-visual department prepares a teaching-aids directory for the use of individual teachers. This directory should con-

tain instructions for effective utilization of aids, instructions for ordering and scheduling aids through the department, and a complete list of items available from the department, classified by teaching fields. It is also desirable that the directory contain a carefully selected list of the best aids in each subject field which may be borrowed or rented from outside sources.

A point which needs to be stressed is that the department should make every effort to secure as wide usage as possible of each film, slide or recording during the period of time it is available to the school. We have often seen it happen that one teacher would secure a film for use in one or two classes, and other teachers would fail to use the film other periods simply because they were unaware that it was in the school building. A method for avoiding this wastage is to mimeograph a form containing spaces for each class hour over a weekly period. Each Monday the audio-visual director has typed at the top of one of the forms a list of all teaching aids scheduled to be received by the school during the week. The name of the teacher who ordered the materials should then be placed in the spaces designating the periods for which she requested them; the schedule should then be taken to all other teachers. When a teacher finds on the list an aid suited to his purposes, he then writes the title of the aid and his name in the schedule space corresponding to the desired day and hour of showing.

NEWS NOTES

Schools planning to set up a recordings library, perhaps as part of the central teaching aids department, should read *Setting Up A Recordings Library*, by Alice Manchester. This leaflet deals primarily with the cataloguing system developed by the Ohio State University Teaching Aids Laboratory. It may be secured upon request from the Federal Radio Education Committee, United States Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

The November, 1944, issue of *Educational Leadership* is devoted to audio-visual instruction. Of particular interest are the following articles:

Dorothy Blackwell, "Audio-Visual Education in Action." This article discusses the planning and administration of the audio-visual program in the St. Louis public schools.

Lieutenant Commander Francis W. Noel, "Training Aids Step Up Navy Instruction." The writer discusses principles that govern the use of visual and other aids in Navy instruction.

Orville Goldner, "Are You Both Practical and

Visionary?" Mr. Goldner argues for hiring specialists to head up school audio-visual programs.

Upon request teachers will be placed on the mailing list to receive advance notices of The University of Chicago Round Table broadcasts and The Human Adventure, another program sponsored by The University of Chicago. Teachers will receive regularly, at least a week before the date of broadcast, a postal card announcing the program subject and suggesting a half dozen or so supplementary readings on the topic. Posters for bulletin board display are also available. Write to The University of Chicago Round Table, Chicago, Illinois, for posters and announcements of Round Table broadcasts; write to The Human Adventure, The University of Chicago, Chicago 37, for posters and announcements of this series.

The American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington 6, has produced and now has available for distribution thirty-three filmstrips under the general title *Life in the United States*. These filmstrips deal with regional geography and the characteristics of individual regions in the United States in terms of climate, topography, people, industries, and products, as well as indicating the interdependence of the different regions. Some subjects, such as "Day on the Farm," "Suburban Family," and "Small Town" are documentary treatments intended to bring to the student the flavor of life in a situation different from his own. Each filmstrip is accompanied by a script which may be read as a running commentary or used as a teacher's guide. Each filmstrip contains from thirty-nine to seventy-five frames. The series is for sale only. They are priced at \$1.50 each, \$10 for any seven, and \$45 for the entire set.

The Journal of Social Issues is a new quarterly publication of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. The first issue bears the title "Racial and Religious Prejudices in Everyday Living." It contains articles by William Agar, Gordon Allport, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, and others. Individual copies of the *Journal* may be secured for fifty cents; the subscription price for four issues is two dollars. Write to Association Press, 347 Madison Avenue, New York 17.

Write to the Air Transport Association of America, 1515 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington 5, for a copy of their *Aviation Film Directory*. This pamphlet is a directory of general and technical films dealing with aviation.

Write to Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc., 1841 Broadway, New York 23, for a description of the recently released film *Central America* (Caribbean Region II).

News and Comment

MORRIS WOLF

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BRIDGES TO THE FUTURE

Under this title James T. Shotwell, in February, began in the *Survey Graphic* a series of articles designed to keep readers abreast of "developments in the tough process of fabricating a new world." For over a generation now, students of history at Columbia University have been deeply indebted to his scholarship and insight. The demands of the conscientious scholar and teacher, however, never divorced him from current affairs. He participated in the work of the peace conference at Versailles, served on the organizing committee of the International Labor Conference, and has been the director of the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the chairman of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. With it all, he has managed to write and edit literally scores of volumes, including the monumental set on *History of World War I*.

Dr. Shotwell has long served the twin causes of international cooperation and permanent peace, causes that inspired this introductory article on "Bridges to the Future." In his opening remarks he stressed the goal: "to eliminate war as an instrument of national policy." That will require a revolution in our habits of thinking and ways of living. Moreover, in order to bridge the gap between victory in war and the fabrication of enduring peace, we shall have to liquidate the consequences of total global war, consequences which overwhelm our imaginations. Already in Greece and Poland and Yugoslavia some of those consequences have been testing the forbearance and cooperative will of the United Nations.

Revolts, prejudices, hatreds, revengefulness, starvation and poverty, ruin, unemployment, epidemics and other barriers will block the bridge between war and peace. Determination, positive policy, and American leadership are essential. "The United States will have its capacity and maturity tested as never before. How can we keep an even course toward our ultimate goal of lasting peace with freedom?"

STETTINIUS AND DUMBARTON OAKS

Secretary of State Stettinius himself interpreted the peace plan formulated at Dumbarton Oaks, in the leading article of the February issue of *The Reader's Digest*: "What the Dumbarton Oaks Peace Plan Means." His analysis of the proposals is, of

course, authoritative. Addressing the average citizen, Mr. Stettinius omitted technicalities and stated simply what the requirements of a sound peace plan are, described at some length the four foundation stones of the Dumbarton Oaks plan, and concluded with a plea for citizen study of the proposals since final action will depend upon public approval.

The decision at the Crimean conference to call a meeting at San Francisco on April 25 to work out a plan for a world organization based on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals increases interest in them. An excellent analysis of the *Proposals for the United Nations Charter: What Was Done at Dumbarton Oaks* was published as a pamphlet last October by the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace (8 W. 40 Street, New York City, 18). Its author, Clark M. Eichelberger, is the Commission's director. The official proposals of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference are appended. This inexpensive pamphlet (10 cents) is only one of many useful publications of the Commission. See, for example, Dr. Eichelberger's *Time Has Come for Action* (10 cents), published last August, in which the problems and the aims of a world organization are discussed.

International Conciliation (5 cents; Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 W. 117 Street, New York City, 27) also furnishes much helpful material. For instance, the issue for November, 1944 (No. 405, Section 2), on "Dumbarton Oaks Agreements" gives statements by Secretaries Hull and Stettinius and presents the official proposals for a general international organization. See also Nos. 401 (June), 402 (August), 403 (September), and 405, Section 1 (November).

CONGRESS AND FOREIGN POLICY

This is the subject discussed in *Foreign Policy Reports* for January 15 by Blair Bolles, director of the Washington Bureau of the Foreign Policy Association. Mr. Bolles described the traditional tug-of-war over foreign policy between the Executive and the Congress. He is convinced that the continuation of that rivalry will be unfortunate and that a method of cooperation between the two branches is now demanded.

Mr. Bolles takes pains to explain the circumstances surrounding the making of the constitutional provision regarding treaties and gives historical examples of the use of executive agreements. He concludes that there is "the urgent necessity of revising the

treaty clause if the United States is to play a role in world affairs commensurate with its great power and potential influences." Two additional steps are desirable: (1) "A regularized method of collaboration between the Executive and Congress at all stages of international negotiations" should be devised. (2) The use by the President of "political leaders of all parties as advisers and agents in the conduct of foreign relations" should become customary in order to establish a climate hostile to narrow partisanship. Of course, at all stages, the public should be kept fully informed since its opinion finally rules. President Roosevelt has shown himself to be sensitive to these needs and has done much to promote executive-congressional cooperation.

In *The New Republic* for January 29, Vera Micheles Dean, director and editor of the Foreign Policy Association, argued that after the war the United States must participate in international affairs ("What Do We Want in Europe?"). While we may withdraw our troops from Europe after the war, the Europeans must stay at home with their problems which contain the ingredients of another conflict. For years, now, we have been exercising an important voice in European affairs by means of our armies, lend-lease, diplomatic conferences and other actions, UNRRA, etc. We cannot withdraw this time but must continue to make our voice heard.

It will be as easy for a large foreign power to send military forces into our continent in the near future as it has been for us to send them to Europe, Africa, and the Far East. As a leading power we must continue to share with Europeans in the task of solving the problems of peace even as we had to join them in the tasks of war. We want democracy to spread round the world. Shall we leave it to chance or lend a hand?

NEW JOBS AWAIT UNCLE SAM

Former Vice President Wallace, in *The New Republic* for January 29, expressed the conviction that "Jobs For All" require the cooperation of government and business. He was moved to make his remarks by the Murray full-employment bill laid before Congress in January.

This bill calls for an annual job-budget separate from the federal budget. The job-budget would estimate the jobs needed to provide full employment; the gross product and demand required of business, consumers, and government in order to provide those jobs; and the needed investments and other expenditures (including those in foreign trade) by business, consumer, and government.

Although the bill has its weaknesses, it does focus attention upon a major problem for which it offers a solution. Mr. Wallace is convinced that the permanent peace of the whole world hinges upon full

employment in the United States, for this nation is the leading power. If it is preoccupied with domestic unemployment problems and their myriad distractions, worldwide trouble is bound to spread.

It will be recalled that the Harris-Hansen article in *The New Republic* on "The Price of Prosperity," mentioned here last month, also regarded full employment as a key to permanent peace. These economists noted the necessity of business-consumer-government cooperation to provide full employment.

Stuart Chase's third and final article in the January 13 number of *The Nation*, entitled "Production First," suggested some remedies worth trying which would assure full employment, full production, and a purchasing power level of around 150 billion dollars. The short-sighted policy of scarcity, in which monopolies and unions and farmers mistakenly think their best interests lie, may be combatted, he indicated, in several ways. It is possible, he believes, under our system of private enterprise and with the aid of government, to assure prosperity by using, not curbing, the machine.

The leading article in the February *Harper's Magazine* also dealt with this question of employment. Stanley Lebergott, an economist specializing in postwar problems, asked "Shall We Guarantee Full Employment?" Business has agreed to find jobs for millions of men now in uniform and to take care of workers now in war industry. Yet after the war our plants making ships, airplanes, explosives, machine tools, and many other products will find their demand reduced tremendously. The individual business, self-dependent, will hesitate to make commitments until sure of sales, else it will woo bankruptcy. Business alone, under such conditions, cannot guarantee full employment.

It is not common sense, moreover, to think that after the war people will rush to spend their wartime savings. In the first place the lower-income receivers have always spent their earnings and they have not changed their habits. At the same time the many who would like to spend probably will not; facing probable job insecurity in the postwar transition they will await to see how things go. Although new products may pep up demand, it is not sensible to see in them the demand necessary for full employment.

All these things can help, and there are others such as increased foreign trade. But full employment needs something more, namely, a national guarantee of security and jobs—a guarantee of 55,000,000 jobs. It would stabilize the entire economic system and prevent a revolution by the returning soldiers. Such a guarantee is up to Congress and the President. Like the guarantee of bank deposits, a National Employment Guarantee may need to be invoked only occasionally but its existence would re-assure business and labor and farmers and provide confidence and sta-

bility. Mr. Lebergott thinks we can afford it. Public works, a broader social security system, the annual wage principle, and other devices can be used to make the guarantee good. He assumes our economy is live and ready to expand, else the guarantee would be worthless.

FOREIGN TRADE

The Harris-Hansen series in *The New Republic* on "The Price of Prosperity," it will be recalled, included increased foreign trade among the requirements for assuring full employment and prosperity after the war. Near the close of January the Public Affairs Committee (30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.) published No. 99 of its ten-cent *Public Affairs Pamphlets* on this subject ("What Foreign Trade Means to You"). Maxwell S. Stewart, editor of the pamphlets, wrote this one simply, with a popular appeal, and illustrated by graphs and charts.

Mr. Stewart shows plainly how a rising standard of living and increased foreign trade are linked. He lays several bogeys, including the ancient one that the protective tariff protects high wages. He pays much attention to the problem of the tariff, favoring its modification and not its abolition. His commonplace economic examples and everyday language not only heighten interest but make a difficult problem intelligible to people without training in economics.

A lawyer and an editor of *Harper's* jointly studied postwar foreign trade expansion in the February issue of *Harper's Magazine* and warned that "That Export Boom May Cost Us Another War." How Bernard B. Smith and John A. Kouwenhoven reached this surprising conclusion is worth noting. They marshal evidence that the powerful protection interests will not allow any real reduction in our tariffs. But if we try to expand our export markets without giving other nations a freer hand in selling us their products, there will be trouble. Many business interests are strongly opposed to an expansion of imports while favoring the expansion of exports. If they win out, other nations in self-protection will raise their tariffs, enter pacts and alliances, and in other ways take a stand against us. If we want to expand exports we must commit ourselves "to a policy of gradual but systematic reduction of tariffs."

AIR TRANSPORT

The first of *Survey Graphic's* series of articles, this year, on war-speeded developments in science and technology appeared in the February number. It dealt with "Air Age Transportation" and was treated from the viewpoint of sociology by its author, one of America's most eminent sociologists, William F. Ogburn.

Professor Ogburn's account is a hard-headed one.

He is concerned with probabilities, not day dreams. During the next decade or two what kinds of flying machines will serve us? How many passengers and how much freight will they carry? What will it cost? How will air transport compare with that of railroads, motor cars, and steamships? The answers to such questions as these are given in facts and figures.

The social consequences of the new vehicle are of great moment. Will small nations be disadvantaged? Will greater foreign travel modify cultures, outlooks, national patterns? What new regions will come to the fore and what new areas of physical resources will become available? How will personal habits change—habits of living, leisure, thinking, and so on?

Dr. Ogburn sees in the airplane an instrument for social change at least as potent as the railroad train and the automobile. His down-to-earth treatment of air transportation gives an excellent orientation toward this revolutionary social instrument.

WORLD POPULATION IN TRANSITION

In our last two issues reference was made to the changing population. The roughly 250-page January number of *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science* dealt with this subject ("World Population in Transition"). Twenty competent articles examined population problems in regions in every part of the globe, discussed such matters as fertility and longevity and mortality and pressures, and concluded with an examination of the world issues of population policy, with particular attention to the policies of Germany, Sweden, France, Russia, and the United States.

REPLY TO PRINGLE

Last month brief comment was made upon H. F. Pringle's *Saturday Evening Post* article on "Why Not Teach American History?" His bias, due perhaps to a lack of first-hand acquaintance with the public schools, has provoked critics. An excellent analysis and evaluation of his article appeared in *The Civic Leader*. Walter E. Myer, in his "Weekly Talks to Teachers" in the issues of February 5 and 12, examined it against the larger setting of purposes, aims, and trends in history teaching. Wilbur F. Murra, in "American History—What and How Much?" in the issue of February 12, made a detailed and searching criticism of its errors. Every high school teacher of social studies will find profit in these analyses.

The Civic Leader is an excellent weekly publication of the Civic Education Service (1733 K Street Northwest, Washington 6, D.C.), of which Dr. Myer is director and Mr. Murra, editor.

THE POSTWAR HIGH SCHOOL

A highly compact, detailed blueprint for "The Postwar Secondary School" is given by Kimbal Wiles in *The Clearing House* for January. A group working at New York University developed the outline as a guide for all who plan for postwar secondary education. Sixteen aspects of the postwar secondary school are considered and from two to a dozen suggestions are made for each. These seven aspects taken at random illustrate the scope of the blueprint: characteristics of the postwar high school, organization, place of federal government, place of military training, curricular changes, adult education, teaching techniques.

At least three articles in *High Points* for January are noteworthy in this connection. The reprint of Raleigh Schorling's "Improvements in High Schools Suggested by Training Programs of the Armed Forces" takes stock of the field in general. Simon L. Berman's "Postwar Secondary School Education" offers specific recommendations for change. What he says is arresting and will stir up debate. Moreover it helps get one out of a rut. The third article, by Henry Seideman on "Doc Sears and Dan Smith Take a Walk in the Syllabus," is a delightful fantasy with a sober critique of educational aims, means, and methods.

THE BATTLE OF THE EDUCATORS

Although as a college president Harry D. Gideonse is primarily concerned about higher education, many of his observations on "The Coming Showdown in the Schools" are pertinent to secondary education. In this leading article of the February 3 number of *The Saturday Review of Literature* he aligns himself with Dewey and others of the so-called Progressive school and insists that Hutchins and others do not have the cure for our educational weaknesses.

That children cannot read, write, or speak properly, do not think clearly, are ignorant of much that presumably was taught them, and so on, is an indictment not peculiar to this country nor the fault of Progressive education. Dr. Gideonse quotes from educators abroad, including those in schools with classical and formal training, to show that such defects are just as common elsewhere. The cause is more deep-seated than we realize, apparently.

Dr. Gideonse makes the observation that the failure of the school, if it be a failure, is not due to Progressive methods, or to the effort to fit the course to the child, or to the failure to teach the classics. Rather it is due to the fact that, for the first time in history, we are taking all the children of all the people into the schools and are finding that many of them do not or cannot learn to read and write and

think. At least many of them so far have not learned under any of the methods we have employed. This is part of the problem the Progressives have been hammering at. Going back to the classics will not solve it. Nor does Dr. Gideonse offer a solution. But he does help to make clearer what our problem is.

Franklin Bobbitt, who has for many years been one of the country's great educators, was moved to discuss the same problem in two recent issues of *The School Review*. In February, in the leading article, Professor Bobbitt described "The Postwar Curriculum: The Functional Versus the Academic Plan." Tradition, habit, the accustomed instruments and methods of teaching give a vast, almost immovable inertia to academic education. The functional or progressive conception—living one's education fully and being educated as fully as one lives it—has yet to strike down its own roots of tradition and habits and methods. The conflict which Gideonse and the others descry is also in evidence in this analysis of the educational scene.

There are some arresting suggestions, not unrelated to the discussions referred to above, in the article in this issue of *The School Review* on "Area Study and General Education." Professor F. K. Schaeffer of the State University of Iowa describes the educational fruits of studying all aspects of an area or region or country. Such a broadly ecological study, it will be recalled, has been used by the Army in training men for service in such regions as occupied Italy or France. Professor Schaeffer indicates at considerable length how this approach serves to integrate the social studies.

Both liberal education and the probable trends in postwar education generally, on secondary and collegiate levels, are ably discussed in more than a dozen articles in the January number of *The North Central Association Quarterly*. These papers had been presented before last year's spring conference of the association at Chicago.

A strong defense of Progressive education is made by Wilbur A. Yauch of Ohio University in *School and Society* for February 17. In "Progressive Education Comes of Age" he shows the historical reasons for Progressive education and argues that it is now growing out of its infant excesses into a mature, permanent contribution.

DISCIPLINE RE-INTERPRETED

Seven scholars in six widely scattered American universities have been working cooperatively on the problem of "Discipline in Education." They gathered together the fruits of their studies in nine articles in the *Teachers College Record* for January. The average teacher will find that their treatment of the subject will make a fundamental change in his outlook upon the problem of discipline.

The public no longer is satisfied with the interpretation of success in education as meaning subject-matter mastery. The "disciplines" in that sense are antiquated, although the habit of teaching and testing for pupil acquisition of information is still strong. In our democracy what is wanted is the *use* of information in making wise decisions and taking wise actions in life. That is the new discipline. Instead of intelligence *about* life there is wanted a practical intelligence *in* life. This has major ethical implications for it makes of first importance the molding of the learner's character.

The discipline which is to supplant the rapidly deteriorating reign of the academic discipline must center in intelligent social-moral conduct. Its forms must be the forms required for making thoughtfulness effective for good at the moments of decision and choice. The problems it equips people to resolve will be the problems of social-moral practice, not just the problems of theory for the solution of which the student feels no responsibility save to be correct enough to "pass."

The nearly seventy pages of discussion can here be only ticketed, so to speak, since there is not space for adequate summary. This issue of the *Record* is a contribution of the first water to the problem of the purpose and meaning of education in a democracy.

NATIONAL PREPAREDNESS

Debate on the issue of compulsory military training for youth does not lessen and every month several journals carry it on. In the February number of *The Nation's Schools*, for example, there is a series of articles on the subject. The editor, Arthur B. Moehlman, sees military training as only a part of the much larger question of "National Preparedness the Issue." At least seven other needs must be met, he says, besides the military one, if the nation is to become fully prepared.

Eighteen leaders—superintendents, deans, state department heads, and others—briefly take their stand in "National Service for Youth." On the whole these men and women doubt that the compulsory military training of our youth will answer our preparedness problem.

In "What Michigan Schoolmen Say About Compulsory Military Service" are given the answers to ten questions which show that the Michigan Council on Education does not favor national action on such service before the war ends. These educators doubt the wisdom of establishing a program of compulsory military service for all youth under the War and Navy Departments.

George Fort Milton, an editorial writer on the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* described the "Lessons from

Peace-time Conscription in Europe." He exposed the faults of European conscription which neither prevented wars nor assured victory.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

For many months the pros and cons have been argued on the question of "Federal Aid to Education." A bill calling for the annual federal expenditure of \$300,000,000 is now before Congress. Senator Lister Hill of Alabama, one of the bill's sponsors, gave his reasons in the January number of *Progressive Education* for believing such aid to be necessary. They are cogent and, coming from such a source, deserve consideration.

The enactment of the bill, as it now stands, would be a revolutionary event in the history of American education. A description of it will be found on page 66 of *The Nation's Schools* for February ("Washington News").

Analysis, discussion, and debate of such federal aid featured the February issue of *The Journal* of the National Education Association (pp. 25-36). The treatment is one of the most complete yet to appear in the educational journals.

Closely related to this matter is Alexander J. Stoddard's proposal for "Federal Subsidies for Buildings and Tuition," in the February number of *The Nation's Schools*. Such aid, argues Philadelphia's well-known superintendent, is necessary if adequate educational service is to be given to all American youth.

LINKING SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

In "Tailored to Fit," in *Progressive Education* for February, Harold S. Bates of Norwood, Ohio, tells how a curriculum was revised to meet the specific needs of a community. All ranks of citizens were called upon, through surveys, to tell what the community wanted its high schools to do in training youth for citizenship, careers, and the many other requirements of living today. Five major areas of improvement were stressed: training in fundamentals; general education preceding specialized training; social education and citizenship training; educational and vocational guidance; and an improved program of community recreation.

A similar story from Chicago is told by Paul R. Pierce in the same issue, in "Selling a Community on Its High School Program." Both principles and the actual steps taken to apply them are described. They are specific patterns for anyone interested in knitting the school into the community fabric.

And finally there is a third account, from New York, reprinted from *PM*. The Benjamin Franklin High School in East Harlem draws its children from people of many lands. Most are of Italian extraction, others are of varying European stocks, recently im-

migrant, and a considerable number are Puerto Ricans and Negroes from the British West Indies and our own South. The principal of the school, Leonard Covello, has done such a remarkable job in overcoming prejudices, unifying the varied cultural groups, and making the school the integrating center of the community that the newspaper, *PM*, ran a story on it: Sally Winograd's "*PM's* exclusive story of a New York High School: Community Integration Prevents Racial Disintegration."

In the February issue of the same journal were two additional articles on this subject: "How to Develop a Community Study Program," by Director Edward G. Olsen of the School of Education of Russell Sage College and "The Community School's Greatest Challenge," by Peggy Grogan and Paul J. Misner of the Glencoe (Ill.) Public Schools.

PORTENTS

The School Executive in January featured a new, regular page entitled "We Salute." Although its purpose is to list for administrators the school systems and agencies doing some kind of pioneering work, all teachers will find it helpful to note what new things are being done in various parts of the nation and elsewhere. On the page facing "We Salute," Professor Paul R. Mort ("Sprouting New Ideas in Education") urged such a feature as a means for reducing the two generations that usually elapse "between the tumult and shouting over the recognition of a need and the ultimate emergence of a tried and tested adaptation."

Later in this number the Educational Planning section studied "The Adult Education Program." Unquestionably adult education will be more important after the war than before. Many high school teachers have participated in the adult-education projects of their communities. The scope of the treatment in this section of *The School Executive* is indicated by the titles of the articles: "Adult Education—A Responsibility of Public Education"; "Organizing an Adult Education Program"; "Wanted: Dynamics in Adult Education"; "Adult Education and the Total Educational Program"; "Emerging Programs of Adult Education."

CONSUMER EDUCATION

The January number of *The Clearing House* presented as its leader a fine article on "Building Up Your Program of Consumer Education." Its author, Dr. Edwin Reich, taught the subject in high school, is a director of Consumers Union and founder and editor of *Consumer Education Journal*, and at present is in charge of the Wartime Consumer Education Program of the New York City Public Schools.

He points out that it is a mistake to think of consumers primarily as purchasers and to teach

young citizens principally how to buy wisely. Consumers are primarily users. They do need to learn how to make wise choices in buying, to be sure, but even more they need to know how best to use what they buy. Purchases usually take minutes while use may require days and months. The basic goal of consumer education should therefore be "to develop intelligent users of our world." Dr. Reich accordingly described the "Basic Seven" minimum essentials of consumer education: food education; clothing education; home and housing education; health education; leisure time; money management; and social-consumer problems (e.g., using government and democratic living, building and using adequate social relationships).

In connection with this essay it is worth while to study "A Survey of Recent Developments in Consumer Education," which was given in the December number of the *Journal of Educational Research*. Professors Henry Harap of the George Peabody College of Teachers and Ray G. Price of the University of Cincinnati analyzed one hundred twenty-two course outlines of consumer education used in high schools and an additional score of state and college courses. This sampling provides an adequate picture of the courses actually in use in schools. All told, courses in twenty-nine states were covered, showing the learning procedures stressed and the scope of consumer education. In conclusion, developments since 1938 were summarized. In that year, in the October issue of *School Review*, Dr. Harap had described "Seventy-one Courses in Consumption." This account had grown out of an earlier one of twenty-eight courses. A reference to Dr. Harap's 1938 article will be found in this department in our December, 1938, issue.

INTERRACIAL AND INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS

One of the most difficult of all interracial problems is that of the Jews. Those interested will welcome the January number of *The Journal of Educational Sociology* which made a study of the subject of "The Jew in the Postwar World." Ten articles examined as many phases of the problem in this country and abroad, with a view to throwing light on "What Is To Be Done?" and "What Can Be Done." An extensive bibliography is appended.

Two writers on education, B. P. Brodinsky and Raymond Nathan, reported upon recent developments in teaching about Latin America. Their article in *Asia and the Americas* for February, on "Education for One World," noted some of the shortcomings of that teaching in this country and described ways and means already being employed to overcome them.

Life Magazine for January 29 reproduced in color thirty paintings illustrating the sweep of Russian

history from the days of the early Norse raiders to Napoleon. A commentary accompanies the set. "Russia Learns a New History" will delight high school youth.

STUDENT COUNCILS

Professor John M. Brewer, formerly of Harvard's Graduate School of Education, in *The Clearing House* for January, suggested that student councils be democratized by applying the principle of separation of powers. Every democratic organization, in one way or another, provides for such separation.

How to do it he relates in "Three-Branch Student Government."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the February number of *The School Review* appeared the annual "Selected References on Secondary-School Instruction." This year's list of outstanding articles, pamphlets, and books covers materials for 1943-1944. Robert E. Keohane, under "The Social Studies," briefly described nearly sixty references and, under "Geography," Edith P. Parker commented upon twenty.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

Edited by RICHARD H. McFEELY

The George School, George School, Pennsylvania

Russia and the United States. By Pitirim A. Sorokin. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1944. Pp. 253. \$3.00.

Professor Sorokin, Chairman of the Department of Sociology at Harvard and a member of the Kerensky Cabinet in the early days of the Russian Revolution, has rendered in his *Russia and the United States* a valuable service by interpreting Russia to the people of the United States. His book is a product of scholarship, careful research, and thought. For teachers who are trying to understand the Russians and their country, this work has great importance. It is packed with information; yet it is easy to read, thanks to his use of Montesquieu's method in the *Esprit des Lois*.

The pivotal idea around which Professor Sorokin has built his analysis and discussion can be formulated in this question: "Is there a stable point in the history of past Russo-American relationships from which can be viewed or hoped the likelihood of future cooperation between these two great nations?"

Professor Sorokin, being a Russian, emphasizes the Russian angle of the situation. He tells of a long friendship between the two countries, despite short periods of hostility, e.g., when Theodore Roosevelt backed Japan. However, as international relationships go, he maintains that those between the United States and Russia have been, so far, exemplary. Professor Sorokin reminds us that there is only one great power against which the United States has never taken up arms—Russia. There is also only one great power against which Russia has never taken up arms—the United States.

His wide and penetrating study of Russian characteristics, ideals, socio-political institutions, religious

thought, and character proves that Russia offers some powerful factors that make for cooperation. The congenial temper of the Russian and American peoples, together with the striking similarities of natural resources, and geopolitical, climatic and socio-cultural conditions, and above all the common interests of the two nations—all these would be helpful assets if, at the beginning of a new era, a fresh psychological approach to the problem of working with Russians should be adopted.

It is now, therefore, more essential than ever that the people of the United States understand Russia. Professor Sorokin closes his timely book with the hopeful, affirmative conclusion that the harmony of fundamental similarities and common interests will promote permanent peace between these two nations, and through them, exert an impact of cooperation on all other nations.

BRUCIA L. DEDINSKY

The George School
George School, Pennsylvania

Where Away. A Modern Odyssey. By George Sessions Perry and Isabel Leighton. New York: Whittlesey House, 1944. Pp. 231. \$2.75.

"The Galloping Ghost of the China Coast"—that's what they called the USS *Marblehead* (light, scout cruiser commissioned in 1924) during the years before Pearl Harbor. The action of this story begins on December 6, 1941, when she was at Tarakan. She was still there the next afternoon when General Quarters sounded, and her men learned the war had begun. During the following months she certainly lived up to her name.

Mr. Perry and Miss Leighton have told one of the

outstanding stories of the war, the saga of the *Marblehead*, bombed into a blazing, sinking wreck in the Battle of Macassar Straits, and its courageous, almost impossible, voyage westward to one of our east coast ports. This voyage seems destined to become one of the epics of our naval tradition. The authors have told their story brilliantly and have been especially successful in their realistic portrayal of the *Marblehead's* crew, their thoughts, their work, and their indomitable courage.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

United States Coast Guard
Groton, Connecticut

Germany's Stepchildren. By Solomon Liptzin. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America. 1944. Pp. xii, 298. Illustrated. \$3.00.

This is a learned and yet most thrilling book. In eighteen brilliantly written short biographies, it is shown how deeply Jewish authors have influenced German culture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is a most impressive story but by no means complete. Mr. Liptzin presents primarily figures of outstanding literary achievements. Some of the men selected by him had also great political influence, incidentally not by money power but through creative minds.

There is no doubt that many volumes more could be filled with the contributions which Jewish-German thinkers, scientists, poets, artists and political leaders have made to the cultural development of their fatherland. For instance the two great scholars, who laid the theoretical foundations for the German labor movement, Karl Marx and Ferdinand Lassalle, were of Jewish origin, although both of them were alienated from the faith of their fathers. Karl Marx was baptized as a child, but he remained as distant from the Christian church as from the Jewish temple. Here we face the question which is the subject of Mr. Liptzin's analysis: Did the Germans ever accept a Jew who gave up his faith, was baptized, and tried to assimilate himself with the German people? The answer in Mr. Liptzin's opinion is emphatically: "No, never! The case of assimilation in Germany and Austria is hopeless." The only hope for Israel is to rediscover its own strong heart. From alien altars and fleshpots it has to march homeward again. Mr. Liptzin believes that as a consequence of the recent experiences the German-Jewish duality has become a problem of the past. The mirage of assimilation has vanished. The Jewish renaissance is in full swing.

It is remarkable that in spite of the horrible crimes committed against Jews by Germans, Mr. Liptzin does not join the chorus of writers who condemn the whole German nation. However, one may regret,

that he has restricted his research to Germany and Austria. Would he not have found similar material in other countries too? After all, one of the greatest anti-Semitic scandals of recent times centered around the Jewish Captain Dreyfus in the French army. One may also ask, whether the Jewish question is not only a part of the much wider problem of racial minorities. Not only the Jews, but many political and racial and religious minorities were at all times and in many countries temporarily or permanently excluded from the national, racial or religious community. They may well have felt that they belonged to that community, exactly as the "assimilated" Jews did in Germany, Austria and elsewhere.

Even if there was a purely Jewish state somewhere on the globe, one may doubt whether the problem of assimilation and integration could be solved. Certain Jewish individuals or groups might be rejected, even persecuted and exiled, in spite of their attempt to live with the majority in the Jewish state. One may assume that it will be quite a time until mankind learns to cooperate reasonably and kindly. The German-Jewish problem is at present certainly very urgent, but it is only one chapter in the long history of barbarous cruelty.

WILLIAM F. SOLLMANN

Pendle Hill School
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

American Policy Toward Palestine. By Carl J. Friedrich. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs. 1944. Pp. 106. Paper cover. \$1.00.

Professor Carl J. Friedrich of Harvard University has accomplished the delicate task of fitting the history of a minor question of foreign relations into the story of United States foreign policy as a whole in its framework of world affairs. In this *American Policy Toward Palestine* he champions the Zionist crusade to establish in Palestine a national home for Jews.

Professor Friedrich is dealing with a seemingly insuperable problem, for it is difficult to see how, given Jewish-Arab differences, right and justice may be done toward both groups; there is more economic room than political room in Palestine. The author's sympathies are clear; they are with the Jews; indeed, Arab rights and aspirations seem slighted. Professor Friedrich rests his case for the Zionist Jews chiefly on British and League promises, both backed by Woodrow Wilson; he pleads earnestly for a Jewish national home in Palestine as a place for refugees and as a sturdy reply to Axis persecution. The promises of the Balfour declaration and of the League mandate, he shows clearly, have been whittled down partly by old style imperialists in the British Colonial Office, and partly by the appeasers

of the timid democracies in the 1930's. So he castigates British leaders and scolds United States administrations, Republican and Democratic alike, for their acquiescence.

There is a hint of humor in the process by which the United States government through a bi-lateral convention with Great Britain obtained in Palestine the rights of a League member in the mandate without joining the League itself. The program which the author proposes is an immediate one which admittedly is temporary. He stands for unrestricted immigration, free purchase of land, and the enforcement of public order—a program which is almost certain to produce a Jewish majority to the distress of the Arabs. He shows convincingly that even an area of Palestine's dimensions is too important in this inter-related world for the United States to stand aside as a mere onlooker.

Friedrich uses half of his brochure's 106 pages to present his brief; the remainder of the book is an appendix of supporting documents some of which cannot be obtained readily. So complete is this sheaf of documents that a reader may follow the variations in Palestinian policy by reading the documents themselves. The book's clarity, its forthrightness, its documents, and its careful presentation of the case show to what levels the democratic discussion of public affairs may rise.

GARLAND DOWNUM

Arizona State Teachers College
Flagstaff, Arizona

History in the High School and Social Studies in the Elementary School. Edited by Jeannette P. Nichols, Morris Wolf and Arthur C. Bining. Philadelphia: The Middle States Council for the Social Studies, 1944. Pp. vi, 154. \$1.00.

The questioning that intelligent, concerned teachers regularly do about their work, and the searching they do for more effective means for doing it was given some stimulation by the criticisms of the teaching of American History in American schools voiced through the *New York Times* survey two years ago. Another criticism has been made more recently in the article by Henry F. Pringle, "Why Not Teach American History?" in the January 20 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*. Such surveys and articles may be provocative, but they do not throw much light on or give answers to the sorts of questions that alert history teachers have before them most of the time, and on which serious thought is being given by individuals and by groups. Among the more important studies of what should be taught in world history courses, in American history courses, and in the social studies in the elementary schools, none is more stimulating than that made last year by the Middle States Council for the Social Studies

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under the able leadership of Dr. Jeannette P. Nichols. The results of the general meetings and the workshop sessions held by the Council during 1943-1944 are published in Volume XLI of the *Annual Proceedings* under the title given above. Copies of this may be purchased from Dr. Morris Wolf, Girard College, Philadelphia 21, Pennsylvania.

This small volume is divided into six chapters: "How It Happened"; "World History in the High School"; "American History in the High School"; "Social Studies in the Elementary School"; "Looking Ahead"; and "List of Participants."

In planning the meetings from which this report grew, Dr. Nichols, assisted by a committee of teachers, formulated important questions which were to guide the discussions of the various meetings that were to be held along the Atlantic seaboard. The following give some idea of the type and scope of these questions:

Underlying considerations (for Secondary Schools):

1. Will the United States and world history courses remain unchanged, except for the addition of a World War II unit, or will all parts of the courses be affected?
2. What changing historical perceptions will effect changes in objectives and subject matter?
3. In the light of changing perceptions, what con-

cepts should determine the specific changes to make in course content and aims, on various school levels?

World History Revisions:

1. Should the course be centered in Europe or in mankind's evolution?
2. Should the organizing principles be found in national histories or in the evolution of human institutions, knowledge, technology, attitudes, etc.?
3. What segments of subject matter should receive less, and what segments more, time?
4. What new topics and units are now required?

United States History Revisions:

1. In the light of the underlying considerations, what changes in time allotments for the main historical periods are indicated?
2. What existing topics or units must be re-interpreted? E.g., Do we need to re-interpret American culture, concepts of democracy, inter-American relationships, or relations with the Far East?

Underlying considerations (for the elementary schools):

1. How should the content for elementary social studies be determined?
2. Are there certain phases of history and geography which are most valuable for "the common man"? How can these be determined? How can it be determined which of them best meet children's interests and capacities?

These are but a few of the numerous important questions dealt with in this report of the Annual Proceedings. Included also are the keynote speeches of Erling D. Hunt, D. Montfort Melchoir, Arthur C. Bining, Mary Kelty and others. Thus by a careful reading of this report, teachers are able to follow the reasoning of the "keynoters," and the discussions of the questions out of which grew points of agreement and disagreement, and proposals suggested for revisions in existing practices.

This reviewer hopes that this book will have a wide circulation among history and social studies teachers. It is full of pregnant suggestions, interesting and arresting points of view, and practical hints about course content, methods of teaching, and new or different emphases that should be made in whatever is taught. Teachers will find no ready-made blueprint of the "best course" or the "most effective

method," but will find much to stimulate their thinking and a great deal that they can adopt to meet their particular teaching needs.

RICHARD H. McFEELY

The George School

George School, Pennsylvania

From Despotism to Revolution, 1763-1789. By Leo Hershey. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944. Pp. xvi, 355. \$4.00.

This history is one of a twenty-volume work entitled *The Rise of Modern Europe*. It covers the period from the end of the Seven Years' War to the beginning of the French Revolution. The purpose of the studies in this series is to embody the results of the most recent researches regarding the basic movements in European history in a book for the student and the general reader.

In this volume the author analyzes the attempts of the enlightened despots to reform their countries according to their own canons of judgment. At the same time these rulers were attempting to secure more power for themselves and for their nations. Not only does he describe the policies of the more prominent rulers, such as Catherine of Russia and Frederick of Prussia, but he also examines the reforms and the opposition to these reforms in the less important nations, such as Portugal, Spain, Italy, and the Scandinavian countries. He succeeds in giving an excellent description of benevolent despotism as a stage in the development toward revolution, liberalism, and democracy.

It should be noted that the United States itself was in part, a result of the dynastic and imperialistic struggles of this period. Furthermore, such men as Franklin, Jefferson, and John Adams were very much affected by the climate of ideas predominant in Europe during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Rationalism and Deism were certainly influential factors in the lives of many of the statesmen who were closely associated with the founding of this nation.

This study, therefore, is not only a scholarly and original presentation of an important epoch in European history, but it also gives an excellent background for a significant period in the development of the United States. It can be used for reference work with abler students. Its chief value, however, is for the teacher.

WALTER H. MOHR

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PERTINENT PAMPHLETS

Food: In War and In Peace. Edited by A. J. Abrams. Albany, N.Y.: New York State Legislature, 1944. Pp. 221.

Legislative Document No. 73. The Consolidated Report of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Nutrition.

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

U. S. A. By Harold U. Faulkner, Tyler Kepner and Victor E. Pitkin. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945. Pp. xii, 620. Illustrated. \$2.12.

This textbook is written to meet the needs of the postwar junior high school. It is organized in ten comprehensive units designed to develop an understanding of our country's growth in all of its important aspects. It is interestingly illustrated, contains a good bibliography, and a thorough index.

Cartels: Challenge to a Free World. By Wendel Berge. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1944. Pp. vi, 266. \$3.25.

A non-technical discussion of one of the foremost economic problems facing this nation, written by the Assistant Attorney General of the United States using

materials and information gathered by various Senate Committees who have investigated various trusts and cartels.

The Young Jefferson. By Claude G. Bowers. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1945. Pp. xxx, 544. \$3.75.

A biography of one of America's foremost statesmen dealing with the years of his life from 1743-1789. It completes a three-volume series written by an outstanding authority.

Bjornstjerne Bjornson. By Harold Larson. New York: King's Crown Press, 1944. Pp. x, 172. \$2.00.

A study of the career of Bjornstjerne Bjornson, an outstanding exponent of modern Norwegian nationalism.

Neosho, Missouri, Under the Impact of Army Camp Construction: A Dynamic Situation. By Lucille T. Kohler. Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri, 1944. Pp. 121. \$1.25.

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